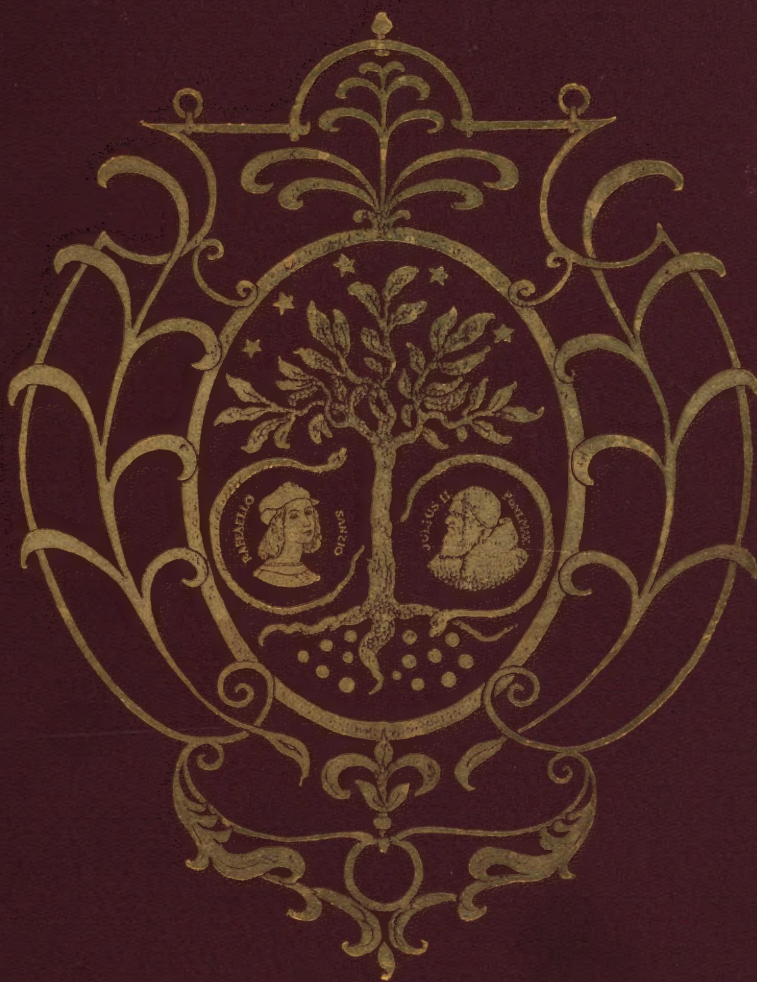
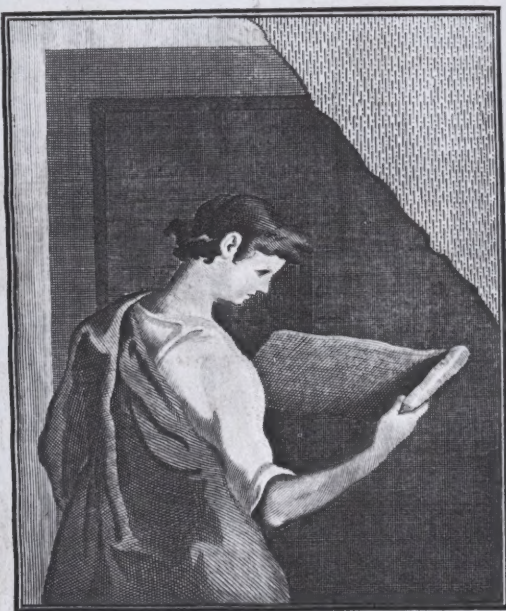


RAPHAEL

A STUDY OF HIS LIFE & WORK



JULIA CARTWRIGHT



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RAPHAEL

I. THE EARLY WORK OF RAPHAEL

II. RAPHAEL IN ROME

RAPIER
THE HISTORY OF THE
THE RAPIER IN THE

RAPHAEL

By

JULIA CARTWRIGHT
(MRS. HENRY ADY)

Author of "Sacharissa," "Madame," "Fules Bastien-Lepage," &c.

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WITH EIGHT PLATES
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PART I

THE EARLY WORK OF RAPHAEL

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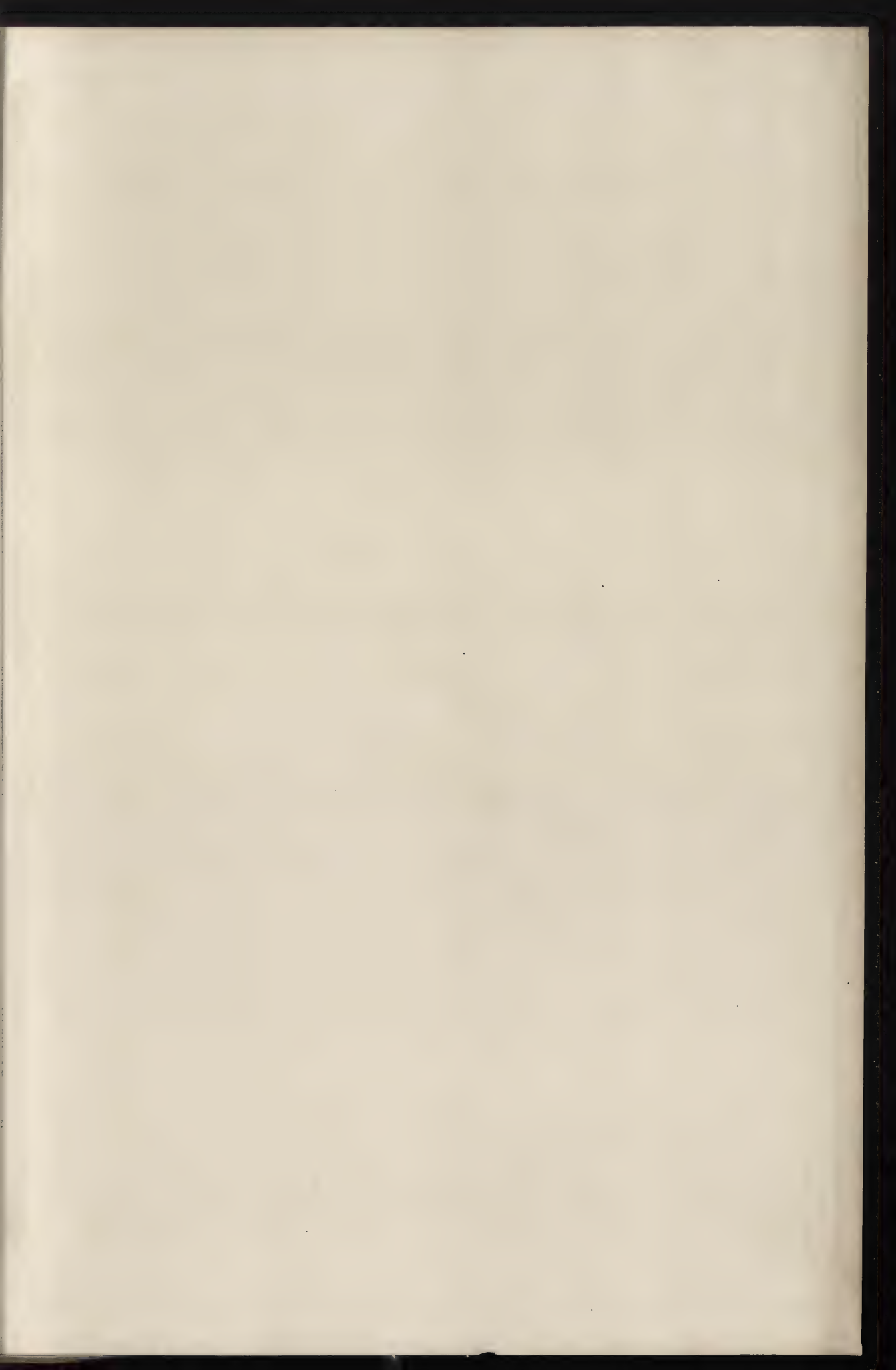
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THE EARLY WORK OF RAPHAEL

PART I

URBINO

1483—1500

Birth and family of Raphael—Giovanni Santi as a painter and a poet—His relations with the Court of Urbino—Early training of Raphael—Timoteo Viti his first master—His earliest pictures—St. Michael—Vision of a Knight—The Three Graces—His character and genius.

AMONG the many services which the late Senatore Morelli rendered to the cause of art, none is more important than the new light which he has thrown on the life and work of Raphael. His keen and accurate eye, his patient researches, have done more to place the study of the great Italian art upon a scientific footing than the whole mass of literature which, in former years, had gathered round his name. Many old traditions have been upset, more than one favourite conviction of the popular mind has been destroyed, in the process. The fables which had grown up round the painter's childhood and the story of his loves have been blown to the winds. A few celebrated pictures and a vast number of drawings which had been indiscriminately assigned to his hand have been restored to their true authors. But it cannot be said that Raphael's fame has suffered loss. On the contrary, his genius only shines with a purer and serener lustre. Now for the first time we realise the rare excellence and supreme beauty of his art. Now, better than ever before, we can



THE EARLY WORK OF RAPHAEL

PART I

U R B I N O

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Birth and family of Raphael—Giovanni Santi as a painter and a poet—His relations with the Court of Urbino—Early training of Raphael—Timoteo Viti his first master—His earliest pictures—St. Michael—Vision of a Knight—The Three Graces—His character and genius.

AMONG the many services which the late Senatore Morelli rendered to the cause of art, none is more important than the new light which he has thrown on the life and work of Raphael. His keen and accurate eye, his patient researches, have done more to place the study of the great Urbinate's art upon a scientific footing than the whole mass of literature which, in former years, had gathered round his name. Many old traditions have been upset, more than one favourite conviction of the popular mind has been destroyed, in the process. The fables which had grown up round the painter's childhood and the story of his loves have been blown to the winds. A few celebrated pictures and a vast number of drawings which had been indiscriminately assigned to his hand have been restored to their true authors. But it cannot be said that Raphael's fame has suffered loss. On the contrary, his genius only shines with a purer and serener lustre. Now for the first time we realise the rare excellence and supreme beauty of his art. Now, better than ever before, we can

follow him through the successive stages of his development. Step by step we can measure the growth of his powers and note the marvellous facility with which he received and assimilated each fresh impression. We can lay our finger on the varied sources from which he drew his inspiration, and see how line by line, form by form, his creations derived their birth from one master after another, until all that was best in the art of Ferrara, of Umbria, and of Florence became gradually absorbed into his art. Much more, no doubt, remains to be done. Our knowledge of the actual facts of Raphael's early years is still vague and fragmentary, and too often lacks the support of historic evidence. But the main lines which future investigation will take have been laid down, and all systematic study of Raphael's work will be henceforth based upon Morelli's conclusions.

Foremost among the kindly influences which fostered the development of Raphael's art were the time and place of his birth. For once at least in the world's story the child of genius saw the light under the most fortunate conditions. Urbino, where he was born in the full noontide of the Italian Renaissance, was famous not only for its pure air and lovely situation, but for the virtue and wisdom of the Montefeltro princes. Under the paternal rule of the good Duke Federigo, this narrow strip of land between Umbria and the Marches had become the seat of an ideal Court, upon which the eyes of all Europe were fixed. Here, on the rugged heights of the Apennines, overlooking the distant Adriatic, the Illyrian architect Luzzo di Laurana had reared that palace which was to become one of the wonders of Italy—"a palace," writes that accomplished gentleman Castiglione, "so richly furnished with all things needful that it appeared rather a city than a palace. For he adorned it not only with silver plate and splendid hangings of gold and silk brocade, but with an infinite number of antique statues of marble and bronze and precious pictures and musical instruments of all kinds, neither would he add anything but what was most rare and excellent. Above all, he collected a large number of rare and excellent books, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, which he ornamented with gold and silver, and counted the most costly treasure of his great palace." Here the good Duke, himself as ardent a student as he was brave as a warrior, loved to collect noble youths and men of learning about him, and with them devote his leisure

hours to knightly exercises and Latin studies. Often, too, he would descend into the narrow streets at the foot of the castle hill and walk freely up and down among his subjects, entering their workshops and talking with the peasants on market days, and so beloved was he by all, that the people fell on their knees and cried "God keep you!" as he passed.

At this model court Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, held a distinguished position, both as a painter and a poet. Originally natives of Colbordolo, a village in the hills above the valley of the Foglia, the Santi saw their homes laid waste by an inroad of Sigismondo Malatesta in 1446. Four years later, fearing a second incursion of the enemy, they took shelter within the walls of Urbino. Here they carried on their trade as corn and oil dealers, and, in 1464, bought a house in one of the steep streets at the corner of the market-place, known at that time as the Contrada del Monte, to-day as the Contrada Raffaello. Giovanni, who was born before 1440, recalls the perils of his youth and the flames that consumed the paternal nest in his verses, and sighs over the ceaseless round of domestic cares, "of all the ills that flesh is heir to, the most wearisome," but which nevertheless have not hindered him from embracing the splendid art of painting—"la mirabile e clarissima arte di pittura," of which noble calling he does not blush to call himself the servant. Yet he seems to have been a fortunate and prosperous man. When he was about forty, he married Magia Ciarla, the daughter of an Urbino tradesman, who brought him a dowry of 150 florins, and at the death of his father, in 1485, inherited the chief part of his property in land and houses. By this time he was an artist of considerable reputation, although he still plied his trade in corn and ropes and oil, and carved images and gilded candelabra, as well as painted altar-pieces for the churches of Urbino.

Magia Ciarla bore her husband three children, two of whom died in their infancy. The only surviving one, Raphael, was born on Good Friday, the 28th of March 1483. His father gave him the name of the archangel who was revered as the special protector of the young, and Magia nursed the boy herself, by the express wish of her husband, who feared that he might not thrive under the roof of hired peasants. A faded painting of the *Madonna and Child* in the courtyard of the house

where he was born is said to represent the artist's wife and child, while according to another old tradition, Raphael appears as a boy-angel with curly locks and brown eyes in his father's wall-painting in the Dominican church at Cagli. This altar-piece of the *Virgin and Saints*, with a lunette of the *Resurrection* above, and another Madonna at the convent of Montefiorentino, near Castel Durante, are among the best of many works with which Giovanni Santi adorned the churches in the neighbourhood of Urbino, during the last ten years of his life. These are for the most part painted in the conventional Umbrian manner, and cannot be said to give us any high idea of his powers. The same faces and types are repeated with little variety, the draperies are stiff, the attitudes constrained, but the execution is careful and conscientious throughout, and the architectural backgrounds and foreshortened figures show that he had profited by the teaching of the more distinguished artists who had visited Urbino. Paolo Uccello came there in 1468, and a year afterwards, Giovanni Santi himself received Piero della Francesca under his roof, when he came to paint an altar-piece for the confraternity of Corpus Christi, while he speaks of Melozzo da Forlì as a dear and intimate friend. But if the father of Raphael never rose above the rank of a second-class artist, he was a man of considerable mental attainments, and his influence as a scholar and poet had probably a greater effect upon his son's future than his actual achievements in art. It was these gifts which endeared him to Duke Federigo, whose death in 1482 he lamented with such heartfelt grief, and which won for him the favour of his youthful son and successor, Guidobaldo. In a letter of the 10th of May 1483, Antonio Braccialeone, the young Duke's doctor, mentions a portrait of himself which has been lately finished by the Duke's painter, who "is also a disciple of the Muses"—a description which, as M. Müntz has already remarked, plainly applies to Giovanni Santi. In this capacity he probably accompanied Guidobaldo when, in 1486, he went to Mantua to visit his destined bride, Elizabeth Gonzaga, and there saw Messer Andrea at work on his famous *Triumphs*. When, two years afterwards, the Duke's marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Urbino, it was Giovanni Santi who composed the dramatic poem introducing all the gods and goddesses of Olympus to welcome the royal bride, which the young Duchess describes, in her letters to Mantua, as the most splendid part of her reception.

It was doubtless in honour of this occasion that Giovanni wrote and dedicated to Guidobaldo his famous poem, consisting of 23,000 verses in *terza rima*, and now preserved in the Vatican Library. The long chapters which recount the warlike deeds of Duke Federigo and the well-known passage on living painters have been often quoted, but in some ways the most interesting part of the poem is the prelude. There, in strains of tender melancholy that recall Chaucer's verse, the poet tells us how one autumn day, when the leaves were growing pale and the flowers had vanished from meadow and hillside, he lay down in the shade of a spreading beech, and, musing sadly over the sense of human failure, fell asleep, and was led in a trance by Plutarch through the halls of the Gods and the temple of Mars. There he heard the fatal news of Duke Federigo's death, and, waking from his dream, resolved to sing the praise of the dead hero. The whole poem is plainly written in imitation of the *Divina Commedia*, and shows Raphael's father to have been a man of wide culture, who shared the humanists' love of antiquity, and was familiar with every phase of contemporary art. He does not forget good King René or mighty John of Bruges, and enumerates the painters and sculptors of Florence from Fra Angelico and Masaccio to Ghirlandajo and Donatello. He speaks of Lionardo and Perugino as two youths equal in their age and affection for one another, dwells with delight on the art of Desider, "*si dolce e bello*," and has a word of praise for the Venetian masters. But, above all, he extols Andrea Mantegna as foremost among living artists, a compliment which would not fail to be appreciated by the young Duchess, but which was also the fruit of his own genuine admiration of the great Mantuan's art. The influence of Mantegna certainly makes itself felt in Giovanni's later works, especially in the portraits of donors which he introduces in his altarpiece at Montefiorentino and in another which he painted about this time in the Cathedral of Urbino, for the Buffi, a family intimately connected with his wife's relations. His portraits, we learn from a letter of Isabella d'Este, were in great repute, and he himself was highly esteemed by her sister-in-law, the young Duchess Elizabeth.

But in the midst of this prosperous career, family troubles came to darken Giovanni's home. In October 1491, he lost both his wife and

mother within a few days, and his infant daughter soon followed them to the grave. Six months later he married a young girl named Bernardina di Parte, the daughter of an Urbino goldsmith, who brought him a dowry of 200 florins. In the summer of 1493, the Duchess paid a long visit to her sister-in-law, Isabella d'Este, and when at Christmas the Duke went to Mantua to bring her back, he took Giovanni Santi with him, to paint the portraits of the Gonzaga family. By the 13th of January 1494, he had finished that of Isabella d'Este, which she sent to a friend, with the remark that the likeness did not satisfy her, although it was the work of Giovanni Santi, the Duchess of Urbino's painter, who was renowned for his skill in portraiture. He proceeded to take portraits of her husband the Marquis Gianfrancesco and of his brother, Bishop Lodovico, but before he had completed these, he fell ill of fever and returned home. There he lingered on for several months, growing weaker every day, and finding himself unable to complete the portraits which he had begun, or to paint that of the Duchess, which was impatiently awaited at Mantua. On the 1st of August he died, and on the 19th Elizabeth wrote to her sister-in-law: "About twenty days ago Giovanni de' Sancti, the painter, passed out of this life. He was conscious to the last, and died in an excellent state of mind. May God pardon and receive his soul!"

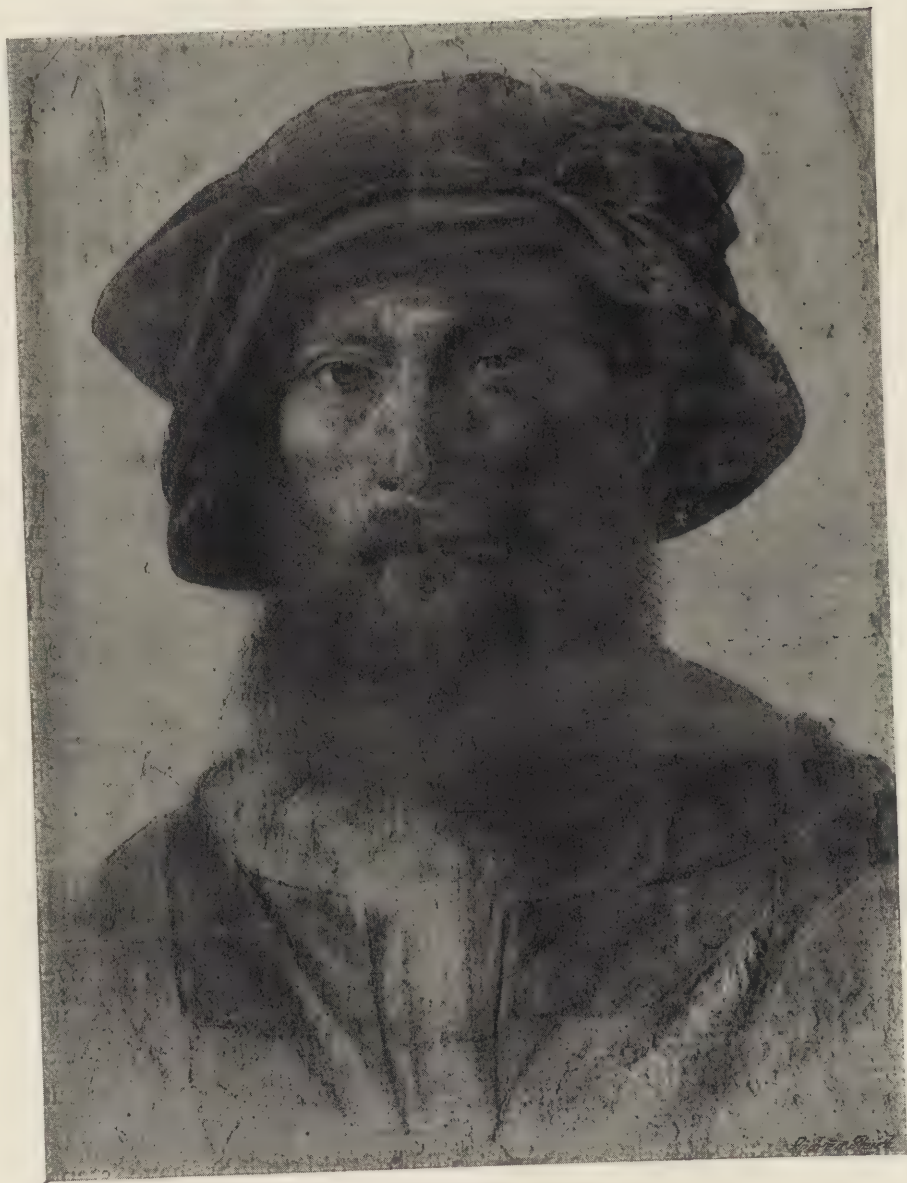
A few days before his death Giovanni had made a will, leaving the bulk of his property, valued at 860 florins, to be equally divided between his brother, a priest, by name Don Bartolommeo, and his young son Raphael, and giving his widow her dowry and clothes, together with the right of living in the family house. Soon after her husband's death Bernardina gave birth to a daughter, who was entitled under her father's will to a portion of 150 florins. But Don Bartolommeo, who had been appointed guardian to his nephew, soon quarrelled with his widowed sister-in-law, and refused to pay for his niece's maintenance. In 1495, and again in 1497, the case came before the courts of law, and each time the priest was condemned with costs. Still Don Bartolommeo remained obdurate, until, in June 1499, the case again came before the Bishop's Court, and he was ordered to pay his brother's widow a yearly sum of twenty-six florins. Meanwhile Bernardina had taken refuge in her mother's house, and did not finally receive the payments due to her

until the 13th of May 1500, when the matter was finally settled. In the records of these law-suits Raphael is expressly named as present in court on June 1499, but as absent from Urbino in the following May.

While his uncle and stepmother were wrangling over this heritage, it was his mother's relations who watched over his childhood. Both his grandfather and grandmother left him money in their wills, and his uncle Simone Ciarla acted a parent's part by the orphan boy, who loved him as dearly as if he had been his own father. Unfortunately we have no record of Raphael's boyhood. Vasari's story of his being taken to Perugia in 1495 and placed by his father in the school of Perugino, to the bitter grief of his mother, is now proved to have been mere fable. His mother, we have seen, died when he was eight, his father when he was eleven years old. Later writers have assumed that he entered Perugino's *atelier* in 1495, a year after Giovanni Santi's death. But we know now that between 1493, when Perugino married a young wife in Florence, and 1499 he was engaged in executing works at Florence or in other cities, and seldom visited Perugia. The question remains who was Raphael's first master? It is this question to which Morelli has given so convincing and decisive an answer. His conclusion on this point is now accepted by the majority of foreign and English writers, but still rejected by some authorities, among whom we regret to name Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Dr. Bode. Raphael no doubt learnt the elements of drawing and painting from his father, and as a child gave sign of that quick receptiveness and keen sense of beauty which were his especial gifts. His uncle, seeing him to be a boy of remarkable promise, naturally placed him in the workshop of the only painter of note then living in Urbino—Timoteo Viti. This artist had left home in 1490, to enter the shop of Francia the goldsmith-painter of Bologna, and after serving his apprenticeship had returned to Urbino in April 1495, to the great sorrow of his master, who records the departure of this favourite pupil in the following entry of his journal: "1495.—On the 4th day of April my dear Timoteo left me. May God give him all happiness and prosperity." Timoteo, then twenty-six years of age, is described as a pleasant, genial youth, who was the best of fellows and gayest of companions, and sang and played on the lyre with rare skill. His joyous nature and refined tastes soon won the love of young Raphael, and a strong friendship sprang up between the two

artists. This circumstance, together with the remarkable likeness that is apparent between the early works of Raphael and those of Timoteo, led Vasari to hazard the statement that the boy of twelve was the teacher of a master fourteen years older than himself, and already a painter of considerable reputation, and to add that Raphael, struck by Timoteo's youthful promise, invited him to Rome in 1518, to assist him in painting the Sibyls of St. Maria della Pace. It is now proved that Timoteo settled at Urbino in 1495, where he was employed by successive Dukes as their Court-painter, that in 1501 he married Girolama Spaccioli, a girl of a noble Urbino family, held the post of chief magistrate in 1513, and seldom if ever left Urbino again. That he was the first to influence Raphael's genius is clearly proved by a glance at the works which he painted at this period, more especially the altar-piece of the Virgin between St. Vitale and St. Crescenzio, in the Brera. Both in this picture, which long bore the name of Raphael, and the later St. Margaret at Bergamo or the Magdalen at Bologna, we find the same broad hands and feet, the same oval faces and heads bent on one side, the same naïve and graceful feeling that we are accustomed to ascribe to Raphael. Timoteo, in the words of Morelli, was in fact Raphaelesque before Raphael, or rather, it was from his teaching that the young Raphael derived those marked characteristics of the Ferrarese school which Timoteo had learnt from Francia and Costa, and which are evident in his pupil's early productions.

The first undoubted work of Raphael, painted in all probability when he was about sixteen, and still studying at Urbino under Timoteo Viti, is the *Vision of a Knight*. This famous little picture, which, together with the pen-and-ink drawing from which it was traced, is now one of the treasures of the National Gallery, came originally from Urbino into the Borghese Collection, when the Duchy was annexed to the Papal See. The subject breathes the very essence of that courtly and romantic atmosphere which haunted the palace of Urbino, and may well have been inspired by the Duchess Elizabeth herself. This accomplished lady, we are told by a sixteenth-century writer, the architect Serlio, was the first to honour the son of her old friend Giovanni Santi with her patronage, and Raphael may have painted this little allegory for the decoration of her chamber, just as Costa and Mantegna painted their pictures of Parnassus and the Muses for Isabella d'Este's grotto



Portrait of Timoteo Viti. By himself. British Museum.

at Mantua. The story of the choice which each traveller who sets out on the journey of life has to make between work and idleness, between duty and pleasure, may have been taken from the Greek myth of Hercules or from the romance of some Renaissance poet. The youthful knight lies asleep upon his shield under a laurel-tree, between two fair maidens. The one, simply robed in purple, offers him a book and a sword; the other, gaily attired in a pale-blue robe with cherry-coloured sleeves, and wearing a coral string twisted in her hair and round her neck, holds out a myrtle spray, and seeks to lure him into her smooth and pleasant paths. Every detail in the picture—the attitude of the two maidens, the forms of their hands and faces, the fall of their short skirts, the handkerchief twisted round their heads, the very shape of the trees and rocks in the background, recall Timoteo Viti's works, and prove the young painter to have inherited the traditions of Ferrara and Bologna masters. At the same time, the timid, careful drawing, the simple directness with which the story is told, stamp the picture as the work of a very youthful artist. The same childlike naïveté, the same miniature-like finish, appear in another work of this period, which Morelli considers to have been executed even earlier than the *Vision of a Knight*. This is the little *St. Michael* of the Louvre, which Raphael painted on the back of a draughtboard for Duke Guidobaldo, and which Lomazzo (1548) mentions as being in the collection of the French king at Fontainebleau. The picture may have been sent as a gift to King Louis XII. in acknowledgment of his courtesy, when in 1503 he conferred the order of St. Michael upon the Duke's young nephew Francesco della Rovere, just as Raphael's *St. George* was presented to Henry VII. after Guidobaldo had been made a Knight of the Garter. But, whatever its exact date may be, this *St. Michael* is clearly a work of Raphael's early youth. The warrior-saint, armed with the red-cross shield and brandishing his sword above his head like some paladin of old, might have stepped straight out of some nursery-book of fairy tales. His youthful face and glittering helmet recall the sleeping Knight of the Dream, his green wings are touched with gold after the manner of Timoteo's saints, and the scaly dragon and grotesque monsters crawling away behind him are the offspring of the same childish fancy. But the smoking towers of

the City of Dis in the background, and the poor souls tortured by cruel demons or wandering to and fro under the weight of their leaden capes, "like the hooded monks of Cologne," are evidently borrowed from Dante's *Inferno*. So exact is the rendering of the torments endured



The Vision of a Knight. By Raphael. National Gallery.

by the thieves and hypocrites, as described in the 23rd and 24th Cantos of the *Inferno*, that we are inclined to think young Raphael must have copied this part of his picture from one of those splendidly illustrated copies of Dante that were the glory of the ducal palace.

If this may help to explain the Dantesque imagery of the *St. Michael*, the third work which Morelli ascribes to this period—the *Three Graces*, now at Chantilly—doubtless owes its origin to some antique gem or miniature from some Latin manuscript in the ducal collection. But anything less classical than this little picture it would be hard to conceive. It has certainly no connection with the marble group at Siena which Pinturicchio copied on a sheet of the Venice Sketch-book, and which was long supposed to have supplied Raphael with this motive. There is nothing Greek or statuesque about these three maidens who stand side by side in the green mountain valley, each laying one hand on her sister's shoulder and holding a golden apple in the other. Their rounded limbs and rosy faces are modelled on the true Ferrarese type, and bear an unmistakable likeness to Francia's saints, while they wear the same coral beads as the maiden with the myrtle-spray, in the *Vision of a Knight*. The drawing is marked by the same anxious endeavour, and, if here and there the outline of a limb may be defective, there is a soft charm and grace about these youthful forms that bears witness to an ideal of beauty already present to the young painter's mind. The picture, which is under seven inches in height and less than five inches in breadth, must have been painted at the close of his Urbino period, probably just before he left Timoteo's side to seek further teaching in Perugino's school. Like the *Vision of a Knight* and the *St. Michael*, it once adorned the halls of Guidobaldo's palace, until it passed with the first-named picture into the Borghese Collection. A singular interest belongs to these three little pictures, that were the first-fruits of Raphael's genius, and which by a fortunate chance have come down to us in fair preservation, when so much of his riper work has perished. In them we see the hand of the boy of genius striving to give expression to the romantic dreams of his imagination, filled already with the yearning after beauty and the passionate love of antiquity that were to attain their complete development in after life. And in a remarkable way they foreshadow the triumphs of his future years. These little pictures which Raphael painted in his mountain home, under the shadow of Lauranna's castle towers, represent the different realms of sacred story, of mystic allegory, and classical antiquity which supplied the inspiration for those great dramas that he was one day to set forth on the Vatican walls, in the eyes of all Christendom.

There is at Oxford a drawing, in black chalks, of a boy of fifteen or sixteen, with a serious and gentle face, wearing a black cap over his long locks. It is on the same paper and in the same style as another drawing which hangs close by—a head of St. Catherine bearing a palm-branch—now generally recognised to be the work of Timoteo Viti. So there can be little doubt that this lad with the graceful air and the



St. Michael. By Raphael. In the Louvre.

thoughtful eyes is the young Raphael, drawn by the hand of his first master, in the days when he painted the sleeping knight and the sister Graces. But this fair boy, whose happy nature and winning ways charmed young and old alike, was the hardest of workers and most unwearied of learners. He had, in fact, already formed that ceaseless habit of acquiring ideas which lay at the root of all his future greatness.

From the first Raphael was never an artist of remarkable originality. He did not break new ground or discard old traditions to make room

for types and ideas of his own invention. He was, in point of fact, less of an innovator than Michelangelo or Lionardo, than Giorgione or Mantegna. But he possessed, in a measure rarely given to any human being, the power of assimilating the impressions which he received from a thousand different quarters. Every picture that he saw, each artist whom he met, became to him a fresh spring of inspiration and a new source of strength. But while he was always receiving fresh impressions and learning new lessons, he never forgot the old or lost the knowledge to which he had once attained. In a wonderful way he knew how to select and combine, to blend and transform all these separate elements into one perfect and harmonious whole. His pure taste and exquisite feeling gave the final touch, and his originality, it has been happily said, was his excellence.

PART II

PERUGIA

1500—1504

Raphael in the school of Perugino—His first pieces—The Dudley Crucifixion—The Coronation of the Vatican—Influence of Pinturicchio—Siena frescoes—Venice Sketch-book—The Berlin Madonnas—The Conestabile Virgin—St. Sebastian at Bergamo—Portrait of Perugino—The Sposalizio—St. George of the Louvre—Raphael at Urbino—Giovanna della Rovere's letter.

AT the close of the fifteenth century Perugino was the most popular painter in Italy. That mystic strain which Umbrian masters had derived from Benozzo Gozzoli, the scholar of Fra Angelico, and which had been further developed by the presence of the great sanctuary of Assisi, reached its highest technical perfection in the works of the Perugia master. These pensive Madonnas, clad in richly ornamented robes and set in peaceful landscapes under summer skies, these saints whose upturned faces and yearning eyes spoke of a haven of rest after the storms of this life, had a peculiar fascination for the men and women of that troubled age, tired as they were with the din of perpetual warfare. Perugino's pictures were accordingly in great request, and orders flowed in from all quarters. In 1500, he had just completed the frescoes of the Hall of Exchange in his native city, and was engaged to supply altar-pieces for the convents of Vallombrosa and the Certosa of Pavia, for the nuns of the Pazzi in Florence, and several of the principal churches in Perugia. It was no easy task to execute all these commissions, and great ladies, such as Isabella d'Este, had to wait years before their demands could be satisfied.

Under these circumstances it was natural that young Raphael, having served his apprenticeship under Timoteo Viti, should enter Perugino's workshop as one of the large band of scholars and assistants who were employed in carrying out his designs. The Umbrian master's fame stood high at the Court of Urbino, and he was well known to Duke Guidobaldo's sister, Giovanna della Rovere, the wife of the Prefect of Rome, whose uncle, Pope Sixtus IV., had employed him to paint the frescoes of the Sistine. Raphael's own father had spoken of him in his poem as a divine painter, and as lately as 1497, he had finished the great altar-piece at Fano, for the same church which Giovanni Santi had formerly adorned with his works. In all probability Perugino had been personally acquainted with the Court-painter of Urbino, but, whether he had known the father or not, the son soon won his affection. His talent for drawing, as well as the charm of his manners, says Vasari, captivated Pietro, who pronounced at once that he would become a great master.

The busy life of Perugia itself and its turbulent streets offered a strange contrast to the quiet scenes in which Raphael's early youth had been spent. From the first the loveliness of the Umbrian landscape and glory of those wide views over the Tiber valley sank deep into his soul. The sight of Assisi, with its memories of Dante and St. Francis, and the great double church where generations of artists had painted their masterpieces in turn, may well have stirred his impressionable nature. But there were other scenes nearer home which touched him still more deeply. After a long spell of fierce warfare between the rival factions whose quarrels tore Perugia in twain, the Oddi had been expelled and the Baglioni had triumphed. For a time peace reigned in the distracted city, churches were rebuilt, and art flourished within its walls. But soon the fiery passions which filled the breast of the leading citizens broke out again, and the summer of 1500 witnessed one of those bloody tragedies that were common in the annals of Perugia. In June Astorre Baglioni celebrated his wedding with great rejoicing, but a fortnight later he was murdered in cold blood by his kinsman Grifone, who in his turn fell under the avenger's sword. A general massacre followed, the churches were desecrated, and the streets ran with blood. The scene of Atalanta Baglioni bending in the agony of her grief over her dying son is touchingly described by the chroniclers of the day, and must have come back



The Crucifixion. By Raphael. In the possession of L. Mona, Esq.



to Raphael's mind, when at her bidding, six years afterwards, he painted his picture of the Mother of Jesus mourning over her dead son. But, while these scenes of strife and bloodshed were happening without, Perugino's young assistant was busy within the workshop, learning the secrets of the great Umbrian's art. The singular receptiveness of his mind made him the best of scholars. As he had already absorbed all the grace and sincerity of Timoteo's art, so now he surrendered himself wholly to Perugino's influence, and before long imitated his style so closely that, in Vasari's words, it became almost impossible to distinguish his work from that of his master. This is certainly true of the first independent picture which he painted after his arrival at Perugia, *The Crucifixion*, for the Gavari chapel in the Dominican church at Città di Castello. The altar-piece must have been executed in 1501 or early in 1502, before the Vitelli, who reigned in this hill-set town, and were closely allied to the Duke of Urbino, were driven out by Cæsar Borgia. "Raphael Urbinas F." was the signature which the young master placed on the foot of the cross in the centre of the picture, "but for which name," remarks Vasari, "it would certainly have been taken for Perugino's work." The composition is exactly similar to that of *The Crucifixion* which Perugino had lately painted in St. Francesco del Monte at Perugia, and which he has repeated in other renderings of the subject at Siena or in Florence. As in the elder master's work, the cross divides the picture in two equal parts, and the sun and moon and angels, hovering in the air to catch the blood in their cups, are symmetrically arranged to fill up the space between the limbs of the crucifix. The gently sloping hills and slender pines of the landscape, the four isolated figures in the foreground, are all in Perugino's usual style. The *Christ* is copied from *The Crucifixion* which he painted for the Brotherhood of the Calza, the *St. John* from his *Deposition* in the Pitti, the other figures of the Virgin, the Magdalen, and St. Jerome are taken from his altar-pieces in St. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi. In each instance Raphael has made use of his master's studies, but has inspired them with his own deeper and finer feeling. Their attitudes are less conventional, their movements truer to nature, the way in which the Virgin clasps her hands or the Magdalen lifts her tearful gaze to the cross, speak of genuine love and sorrow. Slight as these changes are, they make us feel the presence

of a new and more intense life, and realise how soon the scholar was to surpass the master at whose feet he sat.

Raphael's next important work was the *Coronation of the Virgin*, now in the Vatican Gallery. This altar-piece was painted in 1502, by order of a widowed lady of the Oddi family, for a chapel which she had endowed in the cathedral-church of Perugia. The design of the upper part, if not



*Head of an Angel. Study for the Coronation of the Virgin. By Raphael.
British Museum.*

actually by Perugino's hand, is evidently borrowed from the noble *Assumption* which he painted about 1500 for the convent of Vallombrosa. Here Christ, throned upon the clouds, and surrounded by a host of tiny cherubs, places the crown on His mother's brow, while four boy-angels play musical instruments at His feet. But in the lower half of the picture, where Perugino had after his wont introduced four single figures of saints, Raphael represents the Apostles standing round the open tomb. Some of

the twelve look down wonderingly into the empty grave, where lilies and roses are blossoming, others turn questioning eyes on their companions, but St. James on the right and St. John on the left lift yearning faces heavenwards, and in the centre of the group St. Thomas, holding the Virgin's girdle in his hands, looks upwards with the same love and longing in his eyes. The whole style of the picture, the black shadows and bright colouring, the shape of the hands and the folds of the drapery, show how closely Raphael had adopted his master's methods. But even here there is a youthful loveliness about his seraphs to which Perugino never attained, and more than one of the studies for the picture, especially the beautiful drawing of the Angel playing the violin in the British Museum, remind us of his old master, Timoteo Viti, while the head of St. James (in the Malcolm Collection) is copied from a drawing by Pinturicchio.

The influence of Perugino is especially apparent in the predella of the *Coronation*. This consists of three subjects—the *Annunciation*, *Presentation in the Temple*, and *Adoration of the Magi*, which are also in the Vatican Gallery. In painting the two first he was able to make use of the similar subjects in the predella of his master's altar-piece at Fano. This he did after his wont, adding some types, altering others, and refining and improving all. The cartoon of the *Annunciation* is now in the Louvre, and that of the *Presentation* at Oxford, while a fine drawing for part of the *Adoration of the Magi* is in the Museum of Stockholm. In all the annals of Italian art there is no more lovely rendering of the old subject than this lowly Virgin seated alone under a stately colonnade of Corinthian pillars, receiving the message of the angel, who, running in with swift, bird-like movement, hails Mary as blessed among women. The long evening shadows fall upon the tessellated squares of the brown marble floor; but, through the columns of the open portico, we see the western sun shining on the valley and the towers of Urbino beyond. In the *Presentation*, of which we have the study at Oxford, the arrangement of the figures, the High Priest standing between Joseph and Mary and bending down to receive the Child, and the font and pillar on which it rests, are faithfully copied from Perugino's predella at Fano, but the smile of the Virgin's face and the action of the Child, who turns in sudden alarm to his mother, are of Raphael's own

invention. The third picture is a more original and animated composition, in which the artist brings the kings from the far east to worship with the shepherds of Bethlehem at the manger throne, and introduces a number of horsemen and spectators, after Pinturicchio's manner, in the background.

In 1502 the invasion of Cæsar Borgia spread terror throughout Romagna. One by one the princes who had opposed his ambitious plans took flight, and the chief cities opened their gates at his approach. Urbino yielded without a blow, and Duke Guidobaldo narrowly escaped with his life. The Baglioni, who had long held sway in Perugia, fled, and the exiled Oddi returned. The general confusion and insecurity may have been one reason which led Perugino to leave his native city and return to Florence in the autumn of this year. In his absence, Raphael now attached himself to the other distinguished artist who, after painting a succession of great works for two Popes and adorning the *Cappella bella* of Spello with another remarkable series of pictures, had lately returned to his native city, and had succeeded Perugino in his office as one of the city priors. Bernardino Betti, commonly called Pinturicchio, or the little painter, from his small stature, and sometimes also *Sordicchio*, because of his deafness, was in many respects the very reverse of Perugino. He worked hard all his life, but never attained wealth or popularity, and was unfortunate alike in his public and private life. He made an unhappy marriage, and had few friends, being, according to Vasari, of a strange and capricious temper. But from the first Raphael seems to have been attracted by the man's genius, and he became fast friends with this artist, who was thirty years his senior. The influence which his new teacher acquired over him, the hold which the Umbrian's picturesque and dramatic conceptions gained upon his imagination, soon became apparent in Raphael's works. He copied Pinturicchio's heads, adopted his types, and caught the peculiarities of his style. The result has been that in many cases the elder master's works have been assigned to the hand of his younger and more famous comrade, and Morelli discovered no less than 118 of Pinturicchio's drawings, in different collections, among the works ascribed to Raphael.

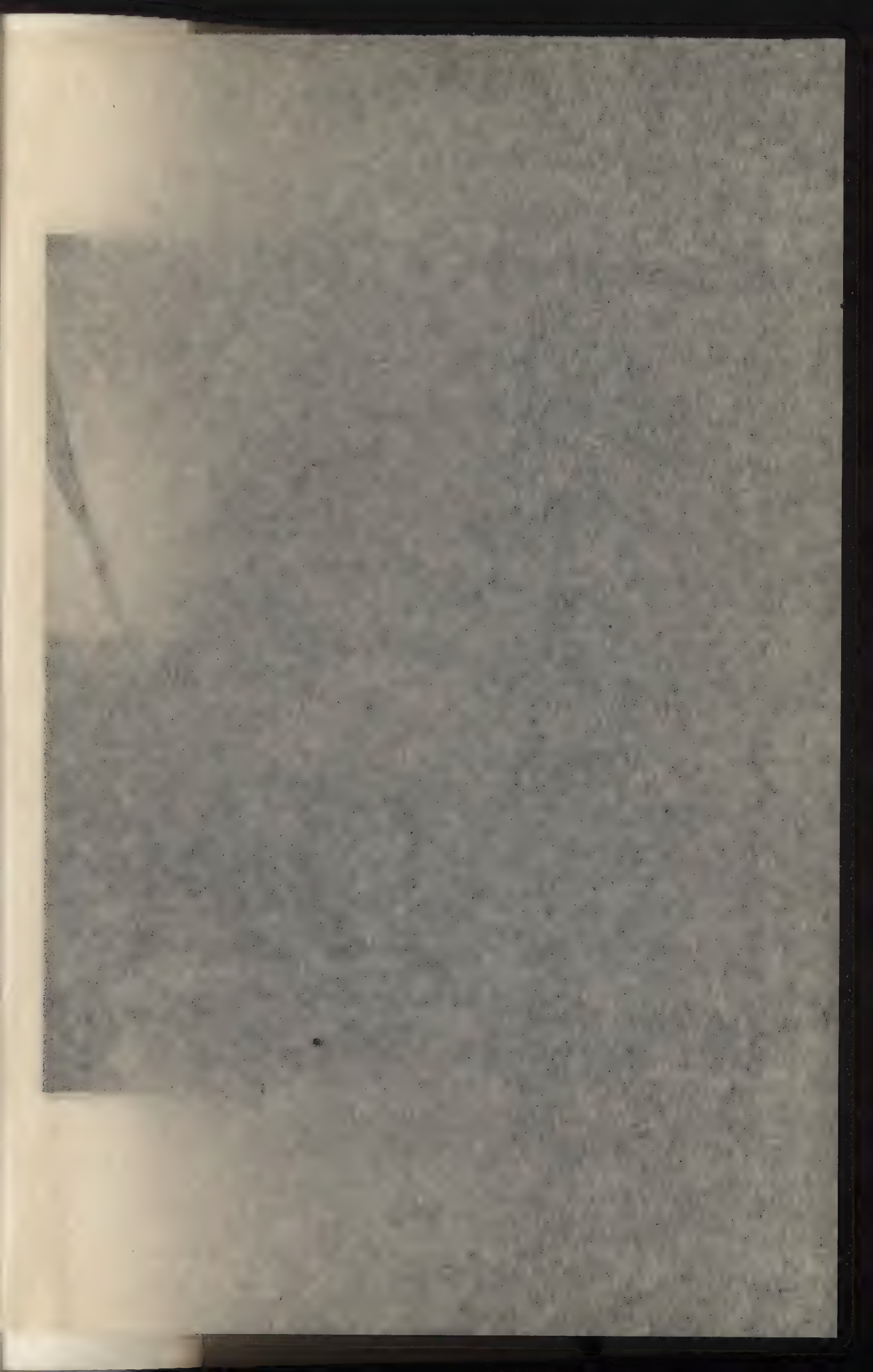
This confusion is partly due to Vasari's assertion that Raphael supplied Pinturicchio with the design of his frescoes in the library at

Siena, and accompanied him to that city in 1504 to assist in their execution. The inaccuracy of this statement, which Morelli calls the pure invention of Sienese municipal vanity, has now been generally recognised. It is, as the same writer remarks, highly improbable that a master of Pinturicchio's age and experience, who had been Court-painter to Pope Alexander VI., should have borrowed designs from a youth who was thirty years his junior, or allowed him to execute an important part of the work. But as a matter of fact, there is no trace of Raphael's hand in the frescoes, nor any evidence that he ever visited Siena. On the contrary, his name is not even mentioned by Sigismondo Tizio, the priest of the parish in which Pinturicchio lived at Siena, who wrote a full and accurate account of the artists that were employed in the decoration of the Cathedral library. Morelli has also dispelled another delusion of comparatively recent invention—the theory which ascribed to Raphael the authorship of a volume of one hundred and six drawings bought by the painter Bossi early in this century. The greater part of these drawings, to which Bossi himself first gave the name of the Venice Sketch-book, are now proved to be the work of Pinturicchio. Among them are not only designs for his frescoes at Siena, but for many of the paintings which he executed in Rome before the birth of Raphael. Others are plainly studies or copies by inferior hands, and of the whole collection, two only are the work of Raphael himself. These two drawings are on a single sheet of paper of different size and texture from the rest of the sketch-book, and are studies of men and horses which he copied at Florence from Lionardo's cartoon of the *Battle of the Standard*.

On the other hand, Raphael, there can be no doubt, availed himself repeatedly of Pinturicchio's designs in the pictures which he painted after Perugino's departure for Florence. Chief among these are two Madonnas in the Berlin Gallery, which are of especial interest as the first paintings of the Virgin and Child that we have from his hand. Two still earlier versions of the subject, however, are to be found among his drawings. These are the little pen-and-ink sketch of the Virgin and Child at Oxford (Braun, No. 10), and a chalk drawing of the Virgin offering the Child a pomegranate, in the Albertina at Vienna. Both of these retain strong marks of Timoteo Viti's influence, and were probably executed in 1500, during the first year of Raphael's residence at Perugia,

if, indeed, the Oxford sketch does not belong to an earlier date. The Child is of the same type as Francia's babies, and the background of lake and towers recalls the plates in the Correr Museum, which Timoteo Viti designed for Isabella d'Este. The Virgin holds an open book before the Child, a favourite motive, which Raphael was to repeat in many different forms during his Umbrian and Florentine period. The *Madonna* of the Albertina is copied from a drawing by Perugino at Berlin, but the face and hands are still fashioned on Timoteo's model, and the expression of the gentle Virgin is of the same character. The reading *Madonna* of the Solly Collection, now in the Berlin Gallery (141), is, on the contrary, entirely Peruginesque in treatment, and is copied from a drawing by Pinturicchio in the Salle des Boîtes at the Louvre. Here the Virgin's long and narrow face, pursed-up mouth, and hooded drapery are of purely Umbrian type, and the Child holding a finch in his hand exactly resembles Perugino's infants. Of the same date (1502-3), and also taken from a drawing by Pinturicchio in the Albertina, is the Virgin between St. Jerome and St. Francis (145) in the Berlin Gallery. The *Madonna* turns lovingly to the Child seated on her knee with his hand raised to bless, and on either side, St. Jerome in his cardinal's hat and St. Francis lifting his pierced hands, look on with the tenderly ecstatic air common to Umbrian saints. The shape of the Virgin's face and hands and the gold embroideries of her mantle, the frizzled locks of the Child and the cushion upon which he is seated, are all closely imitated from Pinturicchio.

There is a distinct advance in the third *Madonna* of this period—the circular panel executed, it may be towards the end of 1503, for the uncle of Domenico Alfani, Raphael's friend and fellow-worker in Perugino's *bottega*. This beautiful little picture is taken from the same design of Perugino which Raphael had already copied in his drawing of the *Madonna* with the pomegranate. But here he has altered the pomegranate into a book, and changed the position of the Child, who turns over the pages in childish delight. He has removed the nun-like veil from the Virgin's brow to show the hair smoothly braided on each side of her youthful face, and while preserving his master's original design has given us a far sweeter and more natural picture of the Mother and Child than any which Perugino painted. In the background, we have not only the



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Reynolds, P. M.

Walter L. G. M. S.

S. Sebastian.



usual landscape of green slopes and slender trees, but a lake with a boat sailing upon its waters and distant hills capped with the first winter's snow. This little work, charmingly composed and painted with gem-like finish and brightness, passed from the heirs of the Alfani to the Conestabile-



*The Conestabile Madonna. By Raphael. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.
From a photograph by Braun, Clément et Cie, by permission.*

Staffa family, and was sold in 1871 by Count Scipione Conestabile of Perugia to the late Empress of Russia for the sum of 330,000 francs.

Two other small pictures also belong to this period, and must have been painted about 1503 at Perugia. One is the little *Salvator Mundi*

in the gallery of Brescia, a half-length figure of the risen Christ wearing a crown of green thorns, and raising his pierced hand in blessing, which originally belonged to a family of Pesaro, in the Duchy of Urbino. The other is the *St. Sebastian* bearing a dart in his hand, now in the Bergamo Gallery. The lovely features of the youthful martyr recall the faces of Perugino's Saints and the Evangelist of Raphael's own *Crucifixion*, the rich embroideries of his tunic might have been painted by any Perugian Artist, but in the mass of the Saint's curling locks and the beauty of his expression we recognise the hand of Raphael. Another noticeable feature which is to be seen in this picture, as well as in the Berlin Madonnas and in the saints and angels of the *Coronation*, is the peculiar formation of the eyeball, and the way in which the iris and pupil are blended together. This peculiarity, which is now recognised as an absolutely crucial test of Raphael's Peruginesque works, is also apparent in the portrait of Perugino that was discovered by Morelli in the Borghese Gallery. This most interesting work came to Rome from Urbino with the *Vision of the Knight* and the *Three Graces*, and, in spite of its distinctly Italian character, was long ascribed to Holbein. Although in bad condition and evidently left unfinished, the portrait is a marvel of vivid and forcible representation. The sitter is a man of about fifty, richly clad in a fur-trimmed suit with white frilling at his throat, and wearing a black cap on his flowing locks of dark-brown hair. The black tunic is only sketchily painted, and the position of the cap has been shifted by the artist himself, during the progress of his work. The features resemble the portrait of Perugino in the hall of the Cambio, and the general character of both face and dress agree with all that we know of this able and prosperous master who painted heavenly faced saints to order, and at the same time had so keen an eye to his worldly interests. Many years ago, an acute critic the late Otto Mündler, pronounced this picture to be the portrait of Perugino by himself, and the present catalogue of the Borghese Gallery ascribes the work to that master. But Perugino never painted a portrait so full of power and vigour, so intensely real and living. The jet-black eyes sparkle with light, the nose and mouth, as Morelli remarked, are more sharply modelled than in Perugino's work, and the hair is treated with true Raphaellesque grace and feeling. The picture may be safely accepted



*Portrait of Perugino. By Raphael. In the Borghese Gallery, Rome.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.*

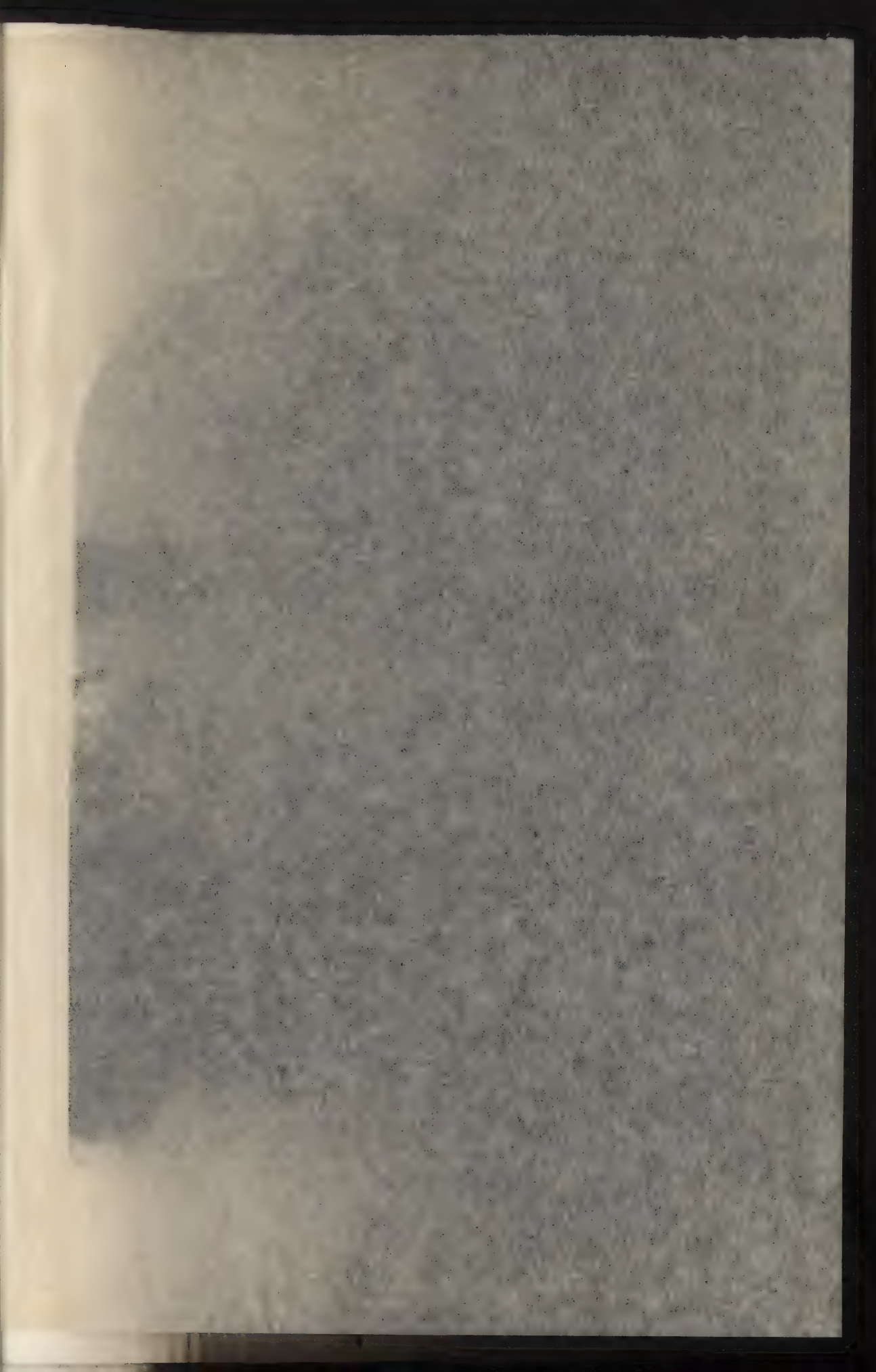


as a youthful work of Raphael, painted either before Perugino's departure in 1502, or during the brief visit which he paid to Perugia, in the autumn of 1503. Both as the portrait of the master with whom he had been so closely connected, and as the first of a long line of masterpieces in this direction, the Borghese picture is of the deepest interest.

Towards the end of 1503, Raphael received orders for two large altar-pieces from the churches of Città di Castello. The death of Alexander VI. had altered the state of affairs in Umbria, the dreaded Borgia had fled, the Vitelli had returned to Città di Castello, the Baglioni to Perugia, and peace was restored to the distracted land. It was then, according to Vasari, that Raphael painted the *Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino* for the Augustinian monks of the hill-set city. This time he made use of a design by Pinturicchio, now in the Musée Wicar, at Lille, in which the saint is represented as trampling upon the devil and crowned by God the Father in the presence of the Virgin and St. Augustine. The subject agrees with a copy of the picture that was made early in the last century, but the original altar-piece was sold by the monks in 1787, to Pope Pius VI., and disappeared during the French invasion of Rome.

The *Sposalizio* which Raphael painted for the Franciscans of Città di Castello was carried off by a French general in 1798, but rescued by Giovanni Sannazzaro of Milan, who bequeathed it to the hospital of that city in 1804. Two years later it was purchased by the State and placed in the Brera Gallery. The marriage of the Virgin had been a favourite theme in Italian art from the days of Giotto and Angelico, but, often as it was seen in predellas and small panels of the life of Mary, it was never the subject of a large altar-piece; until, in 1501, Perugino painted his *Sposalizio* for the Chapel of St. Joseph in the cathedral of Perugia. Here the ring of the Virgin, stolen by a friar from the treasury of Siena, was preserved as a sacred relic and jealously guarded by the brotherhood of St. Joseph, from whom Perugino received the commission. This picture, which had lately left his master's shop, Raphael now took for his model. So closely indeed did he follow the composition that it has been supposed that the Franciscans of Città di Castello desired him to supply them with a copy of the Perugia altar-

piece. The size and the shape of the pictures are exactly similar ; the number of personages introduced, the general arrangement and scheme of colour, are the same in both works. A classical temple occupies the centre of the background, and in front the high priest joins the hands of bride and bridegroom in the presence of the wedding party, a group of six men surrounding Joseph on one side, while as many women of different ages stand round the Virgin on the other. Yet, if we compare the two pictures, the general effect is entirely different. Raphael has, first of all, reversed the position of the bridal pair, and placed the women on the right, the men on the left hand of the priest. He has made the temple smaller, the figures larger, and altered Perugino's octagonal building into a graceful Renaissance structure, recalling Bramante's Tempietto at S. Pietro Montorio of Rome. He has modified the variegated hues of the dresses, and, without subduing their brightness, has brought them into more perfect harmony. He has placed the temple on a higher and broader flight of steps, throwing a softened shadow over the background, and revealing the lovely expanse of distant hill and woodland, on either side. Above all, he has broken up the rigid symmetry of the principal group, and has given both actors and spectators an air of animation and natural grace that is wholly lacking in Perugino's figures. There is more youth and charm about Mary, greater manliness and earnestness in the face of Joseph. The disappointed suitors breaking their rods, and the fair maidens who wait upon the bride, are no longer isolated figures looking idly out of the picture. They are stirred by a common interest and united by one and the same purpose. In a word, Raphael has lifted the whole composition to a higher level, and transformed a dull and formal scene into a picture of the purest beauty and pathos. This, we feel, is the last word that Umbrian art had to say, the highest point of perfection to which it could attain. And yet, strictly speaking, the *Sposalizio* is not the work of an Umbrian painter. As long as Perugino and Pinturicchio were at Raphael's side, he could never wholly free himself from the limitations of their art, but left to himself, he went back unconsciously to his early manner, and drew his hands and faces and laid on his colours in the old way. It is singular how this work, which was directly modelled on an Umbrian pattern, bears more distinct traces of Timoteo Viti's influence than any other that



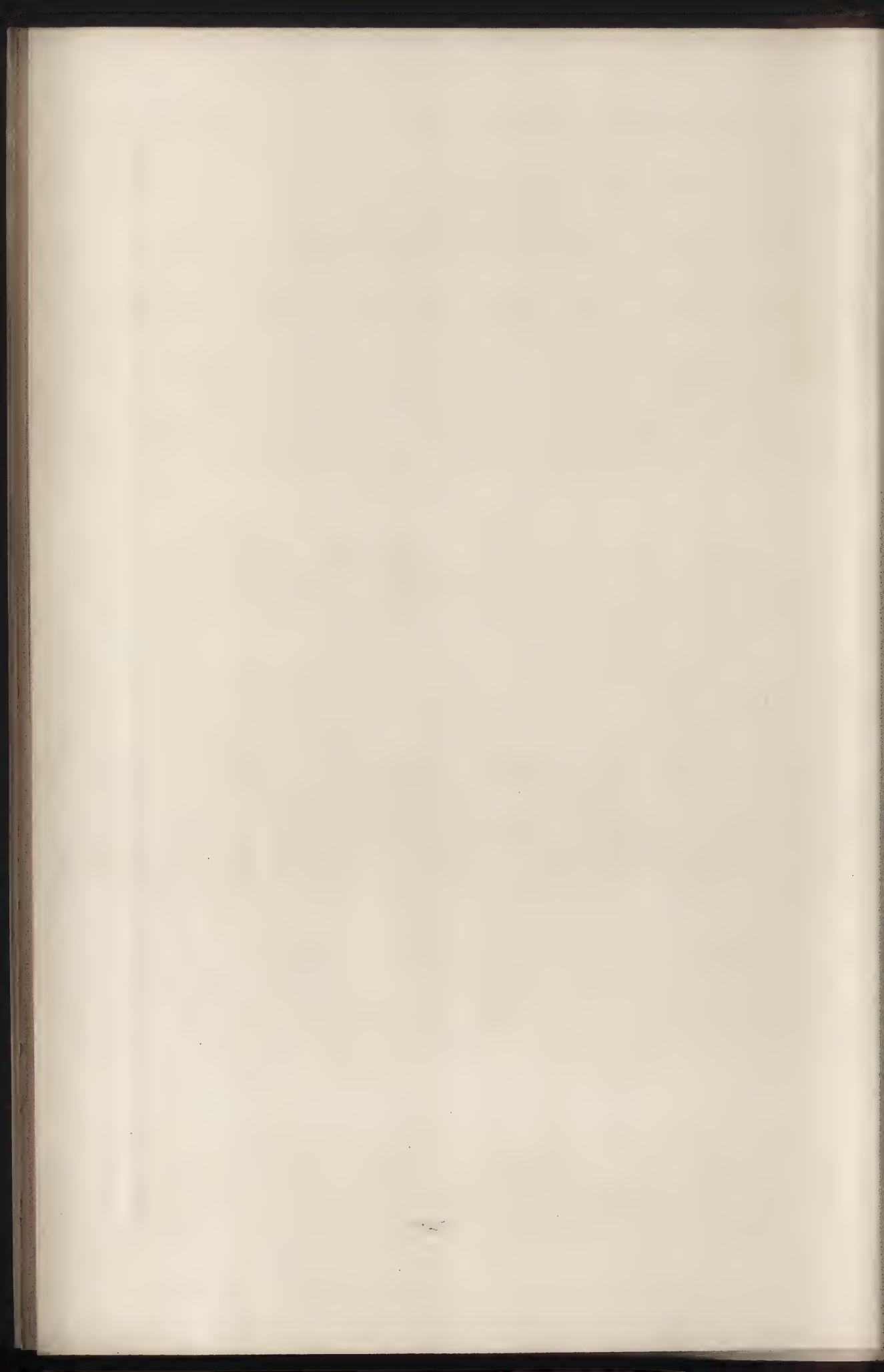
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Raphael Pinx.

Water & Gouache

The Marriage of the Virgin.



Raphael painted during the year which he spent at Perugia. The superiority of his art to that of his master was manifest, and when he wrote "Raphael Urbinas MDIHI." on the cornice of the temple in his picture he must have felt that he had nothing more to learn from Perugino.

When the *Sposalizio* had been finally placed over the high altar



St. George. By Raphael. In the Louvre.

in St. Francesco of Città di Castello, Raphael went back to Urbino to see his friends and spend the summer in his old home. The moment was happily chosen. The storm which had swept over the land had rolled by, the return of the Duke and Duchess had been welcomed [by their devoted subjects with tears of joy. The library and most of the works of art which Borgia had carried off as his booty to Rome, had been recovered, the palace resumed its old aspect, and

the old court life was once more lived within its walls. When Raphael reached Urbino, Duke Guidobaldo was absent in Rome. He had been appointed Captain-General of the papal forces by Pope Julius II., and did not reach Urbino until late in the summer. But the good Duchess Elizabeth was acting as regent in her husband's stead, and the young painter was sure of her favour and kindly interest in his career. For her he now painted the little *St. George* of the Louvre, that companion picture to the *St. Michael* which, if Morelli's conjecture is correct, he had painted four or five years before. Like that interesting little work, and like the *Three Graces*, the *St. George* bears strong marks of Ferrarese influence, while in drawing and technique it exhibits a very decided advance. The pen-and-ink sketch in the Uffizi is in the style of Raphael's Peruginesque drawings, but at the same time bears a marked likeness to Francia's early pictures of *St. George* in the Corsini Palace. The hero mounted on his white horse, with plumes and mantle waving on the wind, rides full tilt at the dragon, and lifts his sword to strike the monster dead. On the ground at his feet lie the broken fragments of his red and white lance, and in the landscape behind the captive princess is seen, with outstretched arms, hurrying away from the scene of conflict. The lost picture of *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, which Vasari describes as so admirable a work, and one that was highly prized by the ducal family of Urbino, may have been painted during this visit; but Guidobaldo's time and thoughts were engaged by his new office, his treasury was exhausted, and the State had not recovered from the ruinous effect of Borgia's invasion.

There seemed no prospect of important artistic undertakings in the Court of Urbino, and Raphael's thoughts were already turned in another direction. That he renewed his old intimacy with Timoteo Viti and worked in his old master's *atelier* is more than probable. The beautiful silver-point study for a Virgin's head from the Malcolm Collection was evidently taken from the same model as Timoteo's drawing, which formerly went by the name of Raphael's sister, and may belong to these days. In that face we already see the germ of the early Florentine Madonnas, of the Granduca and the Cardellino Virgins. But wonderful news came from Florence—of the colossal David which had lately been set up on the public square, of the cartoons for the decoration of the Great Hall upon

which the two great artists Michelangelo and Lionardo were engaged. Perugino himself was there ; and his scholar, who may have met Lionardo



Study of a Woman. By Timoteo Viti. In the Malcolm Collection.

when he came to Perugia two years before in the service of Cæsar Borgia, and had certainly seen Michelangelo's famous Cupid in the palace

of Urbino, longed to mingle in that august company and have a share in these great works. Before long, the opportunity which he sought presented itself. In September, the Duke arrived from Rome, followed by a brilliant train, bringing with him his widowed sister Giovanna della Rovere and her young son Francesco, who had succeeded his father as Prefect of Rome, and was commonly known as Il Prefettino. On the 14th, a splendid ceremony was held in the cathedral, when the Papal Nuncio solemnly delivered the bâton of Captain-General of the Holy See into Guidobaldo's hands. This was followed, four days later, by a still more imposing function, when the Duke recognised his young nephew Francesco della Rovere, the son of Pope Julius's brother, as his adopted heir, and his subjects in turn swore fealty to their future lord. Meanwhile Raphael was graciously received by the Prefetessa, as Giovanna della Rovere was called, for the sake of his dead father. She remembered how, long ago, Giovanni Santi had painted an Annunciation for her at Sinigaglia, to commemorate the birth of her son on the 25th of March 1490, and, hearing of Raphael's wish to visit Florence, she addressed the following letter to the Gonfaloniere of that city :—

“TO THE HIGH AND MAGNIFICENT LORD AND MOST HONOURED FATHER, PIER SODERINI, GONFALONIERE OF FLORENCE.—The bearer of this letter will be Raphael, painter of Urbino, who being endowed with natural talent for his profession has decided to spend some time in Florence, in order to study art. And since his father was a very excellent man and dear to me, and the son is a discreet and gentle youth, I am very fond of him, and wish him to attain to perfection. I therefore recommend him most earnestly to your lordship, and beg you, for my sake, to give him your help and favour on every occasion, and whatever services and kindness your lordship may show him, I shall consider as rendered to myself, and shall esteem this to be the greatest favour on the part of your lordship, to whom I now commend myself.

“GIOVANNA FELICIA FELTRIA DELLA ROVERE,
“Duchessa di Sora, Prefetessa di Roma.

“URBINO, 1 Oct. 1504.”

The genuineness of this letter has been disputed by some writers because Bottari, who first published it in the last century, gave a mistaken

reading of the MS., which made it appear that Giovanni Santi was alive when the letter was written. But, as the last editor of Vasari, Professor Milanesi, has pointed out, the word which Bottari gives as *so* (*il padre*



Madonna. From a Drawing by Raphael. In the Malcolm Collection.

suo) was no doubt *fo*, the Umbrian form of *fū* (was), and the sentence in which Giovanna speaks of Raphael's father, is in the past and not in the present tense. The actual MS. belonged to a valuable Florentine

collection of autograph letters, including several from Pier Soderini himself and the Medici, which were put up to auction at a sale in Paris, in January 1856. On this occasion Giovanna della Rovere's letter was sold for two hundred francs, and the contents were fully described in the catalogue of the auction at the Salle Sylvestre. The present owner of the letter is unknown, but there seems no sufficient reason for disputing the authenticity of a document which agrees with both the date of Raphael's first visit to Florence, and with those frequent allusions to the ducal family, and more especially to Giovanna della Rovere and her son, that we find in the painter's own letters. But, whether the letter of the Prefetessa is genuine or not, there can be no doubt that, towards the close of 1504, Raphael came to Florence.

PART III

FLORENCE

1504—1508

Raphael's first visit to Florence—His friends and patrons—Studies of Lionardo and Michelangelo—Portraits of the Doni—Early Madonnas—Works at Perugia—Ansidei and Sant' Antonio Madonnas—Fresco of San Severo—Visit to Urbino—Castiglione, Bembo, and the Ducal Court—The St George at St. Petersburg—Second group of Madonnas—The Entombment—Letter to his uncle—Last works of the Florentine period.

“IN Florence, more than in any other city, men become perfect in all the arts, especially in that of painting. There the fine air makes men naturally quick to praise and blame, prompt to see what is good and beautiful, unwilling to tolerate mediocrity. The keen struggle for life sharpens the wits, and the love of glory is stirred in the hearts of men of every profession.” Such, according to Vasari, were the words in which Perugino's old Umbrian master urged him to seek his fortunes in Florence. And now the same impulse drew his still more gifted scholar to the banks of Arno, and at the age of twenty-one Raphael came to Florence, as a learner, in the words of his patroness—*per imparare*. The moment was a memorable one. Never, even in the Magnifico Lorenzo's days, had so brilliant a company of artists met together within the city walls, as that which assembled in January 1504, to decide on the site of Michelangelo's David. Among the architects present on that occasion were Cronaca and the brothers Sangallo; among the sculptors, Andrea della Robbia and Sansovino; among the painters, Cosimo Roselli, Sandro Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Piero di Cosimo, Lorenzo di Credi, Pietro Perugino, and Lionardo da Vinci. All of these were still living when Raphael came to Florence, with the single

exception of Filippino, who had died of an acute attack of *angina pectoris*, on the 18th of April, leaving his *Deposition* for the church of the Servi Brothers to be finished by Perugino. The presence of so many illustrious masters naturally provoked that generous spirit of rivalry which, Vasari assures us, was generated by the pure air of Florence. Great works were produced amidst the enthusiastic applause not only of the artists but of the whole city. Lionardo's cartoon of the *Holy Family* had hardly been finished when the Servi friars threw open their convent doors and allowed the people to come in and see the wonderful work with their own eyes. "During two days," we read, "the hall was thronged with men and women of every rank and age—such a concourse, in short, as we see flocking to the most solemn festivals, all hastening to behold the marvel wrought by Lionardo."

The sight of Florence itself—of that dome which had as yet no rival, of the palaces and churches which lined the streets, of the frescoes that filled chapels and convent-cells with light and colour, of Della Robbia's blue-and-white Madonnas and angels shining down above the crowded market-place and in the quiet corners of side alleys—might well delight Raphael's soul. The city and the works of art he saw there, says Vasari, alike seemed divine to him, and he asked nothing better than to take up his abode there, and spend the rest of his days at Florence.

He went everywhere and saw everything. His quick eye took note of each different object in this new and wonderful world, and his hand recorded countless forms and shapes which he could never have dreamt of in his Umbrian days. He lingered in the dim chapel of the Carmine until he knew every figure in Masaccio's works by heart, he studied Ghirlandajo's heads and Donatello's marbles, and made careful drawings of Michelangelo's David on sheets which may still be seen in the British Museum. But it was Lionardo above all others who attracted him by the science and beauty of his art. "He stood dumb," Vasari tells us, "before the grace of his figures, and thought him superior to all other masters. In fact, the style of Lionardo pleased him better than any which he had ever seen, and, leaving the manner of Pietro, he endeavoured with infinite pains to imitate the art of Lionardo. From having been a master, he once more became a pupil. At the same

time, Michelangelo's mastery of the human frame made a profound impression upon his mind, and he applied himself with ardour to learn



Group in the Venice Sketch-book, from Lionardo's Battle of the Standard. By Raphael.

the principles of anatomy. Night and day he devoted himself to the task, and studied the structure of the body, the movement and fore-

shortening of limbs, and connection of nerves and muscles, with such unwearied industry, that in a few months he learnt what others acquire in the space of years."

The letter of La Prefetessa does not seem to have brought him any commission from the Gonfaloniere, who had already the two greatest living painters in his service, and many other excellent artists awaiting his commands. But the recommendations of his Urbino friends and the influence of his master Perugino—above all, his own charming nature, brought him many friends, and made him a general favourite in artistic circles. He was a frequent visitor at the shop of the distinguished architect Baccio d'Agnolo, where artists of every age and rank met on winter evenings to discuss problems connected with their craft. All the well-known painters and sculptors in Florence were to be seen at these gatherings in turn, and sometimes, although rarely, the great Michelangelo himself would look in. But since he had lately quarrelled with Lionardo, and had been summoned before a court of justice to explain the abusive language which he had used of Perugino, openly calling him "*goffo nell'arte*," his presence may have inspired more awe than pleasure among his younger comrades. Of the youths whom Raphael met at Baccio d'Agnolo's shop or worked with in the Brancacci chapel, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo and Sebastiano Sangallo were his chief friends. The former was the son of the great painter who had lately died, and, like Raphael, had declared himself to be an ardent admirer of Lionardo. The latter was a first-rate draughtsman, whose gay temper and witty sayings had earned for him the nickname of Aristotile. But the young painter from Urbino was soon to form a still closer friendship with a master of a very different type, the gentle and serious Baccio della Porta, who five years before, in his grief at the death of Savonarola, had left the world to take the vows of the Dominican order, and was now a friar of S. Marco. That magnificent fresco of the *Last Judgment*, which, in the darkest hour of his despair at the loss of his beloved master, he had painted in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, made a powerful impression on Raphael's mind and exerted a marked influence on his future work. The painter of that noble fresco, now known as Fra Bartolommeo, had lately taken up his brush again, and was at work on an altar-piece for the Badia. Ere long Raphael became his intimate friend, and learnt from him the secrets of the fine



*Angelo Doni. By Raphael. Pitti Gallery, Florence.
From a photograph by Braun, Clement et Cie., by permission.*

colour and modelling which were the charm of the Frate's pictures. Among the visitors who came to Baccio d'Agnolo's gatherings was Taddeo Taddei, a wealthy Florentine of cultivated tastes, who corresponded with Bembo and was a liberal patron of the fine arts. Baccio d'Agnolo had built him a palace in the Via de' Ginori, and Michelangelo had carved one of his finest Holy Families for him in stone. Taddeo soon made friends with Raphael, and was never happy unless the young painter were in his house and at his table. And Raphael, writes Vasari, "who was the most amiable of men (*ch' era la gentilezza stessa*), not to be outdone in courtesy, painted two pictures for him, which Taddeo valued among his most precious treasures." "Show all honour to Taddeo, of whom we have so often spoken," wrote the painter to his uncle Simone, when his friend was about to visit Urbino, "for there is no man living to whom I am more deeply indebted." Another noble Florentine who shared Raphael's intimacy was Lorenzo Nasi, afterwards one of the City priors. Either of these friends may have recommended him to the wealthy merchant Agnolo Doni, one of the most discerning and at the same time one of the most niggardly lovers of pictures in Florence. This cautious personage, whose palace was a museum of antique and contemporary art, had lately bought Michelangelo's famous *Holy Family* of the Tribune, after wrangling with Buonarrotti for months over the price. Now in his anxiety to obtain good pictures at the lowest possible price, he employed the young painter from Urbino, who was as yet little known in Florence, to paint his own portrait and that of his wife, a lady of the Strozzi family. Both of these portraits, which hang to-day in the Pitti Gallery, are admirable examples of Raphael's close and faithful study of life. They are painted with the same minute attention to detail, the same anxious rendering of each single hair, that we note in the Borghese portrait. The wealthy merchant in his black damask suit and red sleeves, with refined features and keen anxious gaze, his staid, richly dressed wife in her blue brocades and jewelled necklace, well satisfied with herself and all the world, are living types of their class. Yet in the form of the pictures, in the pose of Maddalena Doni's head and of her placidly folded hands, we are conscious of a new influence. If from the picture we turn to the pen-and-ink sketch in the Louvre, we see at a glance that Lionardo's *Mona Lisa* was



*Maddalena Doni. By Raphael. Pitti Gallery, Florence.
From a photograph by Alinari, by permission.*



in Raphael's mind when he painted Maddalena Doni's portrait. The cut of the dress, the ripple of the hair, the very folds of the bodice are exactly copied from that famous picture, which Raphael must have seen in Francesco Giocondo's house at Florence. Only instead of Lionardo's rock landscape, he has sketched a view of Umbrian hills and Urbino towers, framed in between the columns of an open loggia. There is, we must confess, a charm in the drawing which is lacking in the picture. This maiden with the dreamy eyes and youthful face was the painter's ideal; the other was the actual woman, Maddalena Doni, the rich merchant's wife, a subject, it may be, not very much to his taste, but none the less to be painted with perfect accuracy and truth.

But Raphael's dreams and studies were soon to bear richer fruit. The earliest, and in some ways the most perfect of that long series of Madonnas that were the glory of his second period, belong to the first year which he spent in Florence. The chronological arrangement of Raphael's Madonnas has been attempted, but not yet finally accomplished, by many writers, and still remains a matter of uncertainty. But we may safely assume the Madonna del Granduca to have been one of the first which the artist painted after he came to Florence in 1504. We know nothing of its origin or history. It may have been the picture which he painted for the Prefetessa or one of the two Virgins, which Vasari tells us, were ordered by Duke Guidobaldo. All we know is that this Madonna was found in the last century in the house of a poor widow, and that in 1799 it was bought by the Grand Duke Ferdinand III., who would never part from it again, and carried it about with him on all his journeys. But one thing is certain: when Raphael painted this picture, the face of the Virgin with the downcast eyes which he had drawn in Timoteo's *atelier* at Urbino was still in his mind. With that vision before his eyes, he drew the sketch now in the Uffizi, taking for his model this time some Tuscan peasant-girl whom he had seen with her babe on her arm. Then he painted the beautiful picture on the dark-green panel, with no thought in his head but simply that of mother and child. Nothing could well be simpler or more natural. The child rests on his mother's arm, and his little hands stray over her neck in perfect trust and safety. The Virgin stands directly facing us, wearing a blue mantle without gilding or ornament, and a transparent veil over her fair hair. The whole beauty of the

picture lies in the serene peace of the Maid-mother's face, in the calm features and downcast eyes that tell of a deeper bliss and a diviner hope than mortals dream of here. "Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart."

Closely linked with the Virgin of the Granduca is the Casa Tempi Madonna. This picture was seen by Cinelli in 1677, after which it was lost sight of for many years, and was eventually found by a doctor of the family, covered with dust and dirt, in a forgotten corner. It was bought in 1829, by King Ludwig of Bavaria, for 16,000 scudi, and is now in the Old Pinacothek of Munich. Although in a bad state of preservation, and sadly disfigured by the restorer's hand, this Casa Tempi Madonna still retains much of its original charm. In this mother and child meeting in fond embrace, Raphael has set the very ideal of maternal love before our eyes. The Virgin is represented standing up and clasping the child in her arms. She wears a blue mantle over a red bodice and sleeves, a light veil on her hair, and a gold-striped handkerchief round her shoulders. Her face is turned to the right, and she is about to press a kiss on the face of the eager child, who raises his face to hers.

The Orleans Madonna, once in the possession of Louis the Fourteenth's brother, and now, after many vicissitudes, restored to his descendant the Duc d'Aumale, is generally supposed to have been painted for Duke Guidobaldo, since it agrees with the following entry in the inventory of the Urbino Gallery: "A little picture of a Madonna with Christ in her arms on wood by Raphael." The description, however, might apply equally to either of the two last-named pictures, or to the Cowper Madonna. The Virgin is seated in her lowly chamber, and bends tenderly over the child, who, resting one foot on her right hand and holding on with both hands to the hem of her bodice, looks round with a beaming face. A dark-red curtain hangs on the wall behind, and a row of jars and pots and wine-flask stand on the shelf above. It might be some Tuscan cottage-home, where a young peasant-mother is nursing her first-born child. The same strong and joyous Child, the same Virgin with the yellow hair and gold-threaded veil, meet us in the little picture at Panshanger, bought by Lord Cowper when he was Minister at Florence at the end of the last century. But here the Virgin is seated in the open air, and the sun shines on a well-known scene in the neighbourhood



*The Casa Tempi Madonna. By Raphael. Old Pinacothek, Munich.
From a photograph by Hanfstängl and Co., by permission.*

of Florence—the hill of San Miniato with its tall cypresses, and the cupola and campanile of Cronaca's newly built church, *la bella villanella* which Michelangelo loved. There is, perhaps, more actual charm and beauty in this youthful Madonna and in the smiling child who clings with both arms about her neck, than in any other of Raphael's Virgins. Often as he repeated the same subject in his later Florentine days, endless and varied as are the changes which he was to ring on the old theme, he never surpassed these four Madonnas. In their ideal loveliness and human tenderness they bear witness to the close study of nature which was one great result of his Florentine experiences. As we turn over those sheets covered with countless sketches of mothers and children, which are still to be seen in the Albertina or the British Museum, we feel that the sight of Lionardo's cartoons, of Michelangelo's and Fra Bartolommeo's great works, has not been in vain. He has gone nearer to nature, and has learnt the lesson which she has to teach. And in the light of the new learning, the old has lost its charm. He has forgotten Perugino, and put away Umbrian things.

But while Raphael was scaling new heights at Florence, his presence was much desired at Perugia, and in the autumn of 1505 he returned there to execute several important commissions. The nuns of Monte Luce, a convent of Poor Clares, outside the town, desirous of placing a picture of the Assumption above the high altar of their chapel, consulted the leading citizens of Perugia as to the choice of an artist, and were advised by them, as well as by certain Franciscan friars who knew his work, to employ "Maestro Raphaello da Urbino, the best painter of the day." The contract, we learn from the convent records, was signed on the 23rd of December 1505, when the factor of the community paid Raphael thirty gold ducats in advance. But other engagements took up the painter's time, and he never did more than make a preliminary sketch for the picture which he had agreed to paint. The years went by, and still the poor nuns waited in vain, until at length, in despair of ever obtaining a work from Raphael's hand, they agreed, in 1517, to a fresh arrangement, and allowed their altar-piece to be painted by his pupils Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni.

Among the works which he now pledged himself to execute at Perugia was the altar-piece for the family chapel of the Ansidei, in the

Church of St. Fiorenzo, and the *Madonna and Saints* for the nuns of St. Antony of Padua. Both these pictures are now in London. The *Ansidei Madonna* was bought from the priests of St. Fiorenzo in 1764 by Gavin Hamilton for the third Duke of Marlborough, on condition of supplying a copy in place of the original, and sold by the late Duke in 1885, to the Trustees of the National Gallery for £70,000. The *Madonna of Sant' Antonio* was sold by the nuns, in 1677, to pay their debts, and, after passing through the hands of the Colonna family and the late King of Naples, has of late years been lent to the South Kensington Museum by its present owner, the Duke of Castro. The composition of both works follows the favourite Umbrian tradition: in both the Virgin sits enthroned under a lofty canopy, wearing the same gold-embroidered mantle falling in heavy folds from her head to her feet. But in both instances, in the execution of the picture, in the figures of the Virgin and Child, and the forms and attitudes of the attendant saints, we see the influence of Raphael's Florentine studies.

This is already evident in the fine pen-and-ink drawing for the *Ansidei Virgin* at the Städelsches Institut, Frankfurt, copied as it is from a sketch which Pinturicchio had made for a Madonna at Spello. In Raphael's picture the motive is still further modified. He has changed the attitude of the child, who, instead of raising his hand in blessing, looks down at the open book on his mother's knee, and has given the Virgin's countenance a youthful beauty and simplicity akin to his Florentine Madonnas. If St. John the Baptist, who stands on the left of the throne, holding a crystal crozier in his hand, and wearing a crimson mantle edged with gold over his camel's-hair garb, recalls Perugino's saints, the venerable figure of St. Nicholas of Bari, in his jewelled cope and mitre, is modelled with all the truth and freedom of Raphael's later style. The date inscribed on the hem of the Virgin's mantle has been differently read by almost every writer. Passavant and Kugler, Sir Charles Eastlake and Sir Henry Layard, give it as 1505; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as 1506; Minghetti, as 1507. There can however be little doubt that the picture was chiefly painted during Raphael's visit to Perugia in 1505-6, but not finally completed until a later period. The *Ansidei Madonna* is in a far better state of preservation than most of Raphael's



The Ansidei Madonna. By Raphael. From the Picture in the National Gallery.

works, and bears few traces of inferior workmanship. This is more than can be said for the *Madonna di Sant' Antonio*. A split in the panel two centuries ago caused part of the surface to scale off, and the picture has suffered severely from injudicious cleaning and re-painting, while the hand of assistants is clearly visible in the lunette of *God the Father*, as well as in some parts of the draperies. But we recognise Raphael's art in the central group, alike in the little St. John pressing forward to adore the Child, and in the gentle Virgin bending down to lay her hand upon his shoulder. Both children are clothed, the Christ in a white tunic and blue mantle, the little Baptist in camel-hair shirt and green and purple robes, because, in Vasari's words, "those simple and pious women, the nuns, willed it so." The Virgin-saints Catherine and Cecilia, who stand on either side, crowned with roses and bearing the palm of martyrdom, and their companions the Apostles Peter and Paul, recall Fra Bartolommeo's style so forcibly, that Morelli was inclined to assign the picture to 1507 or 1508. But, like the *Ansidei Madonna*, the *Virgin of Sant' Antonio* was probably begun in 1505 or 1506, and completed, with the help of assistants, at a later date. There is certainly no trace of Raphael's own hand in the predella of these pictures. The *Preaching of St. John the Baptist*, that formerly belonged to the Ansidei altar-piece, the *Christ bearing His Cross*, that is now Lord Windsor's property, but which, together with its companion subjects of the *Pietà* and *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, once formed the predella of the *Madonna di Sant' Antonio*, are clearly the work of some second-rate Perugian artist who served as Raphael's assistant.

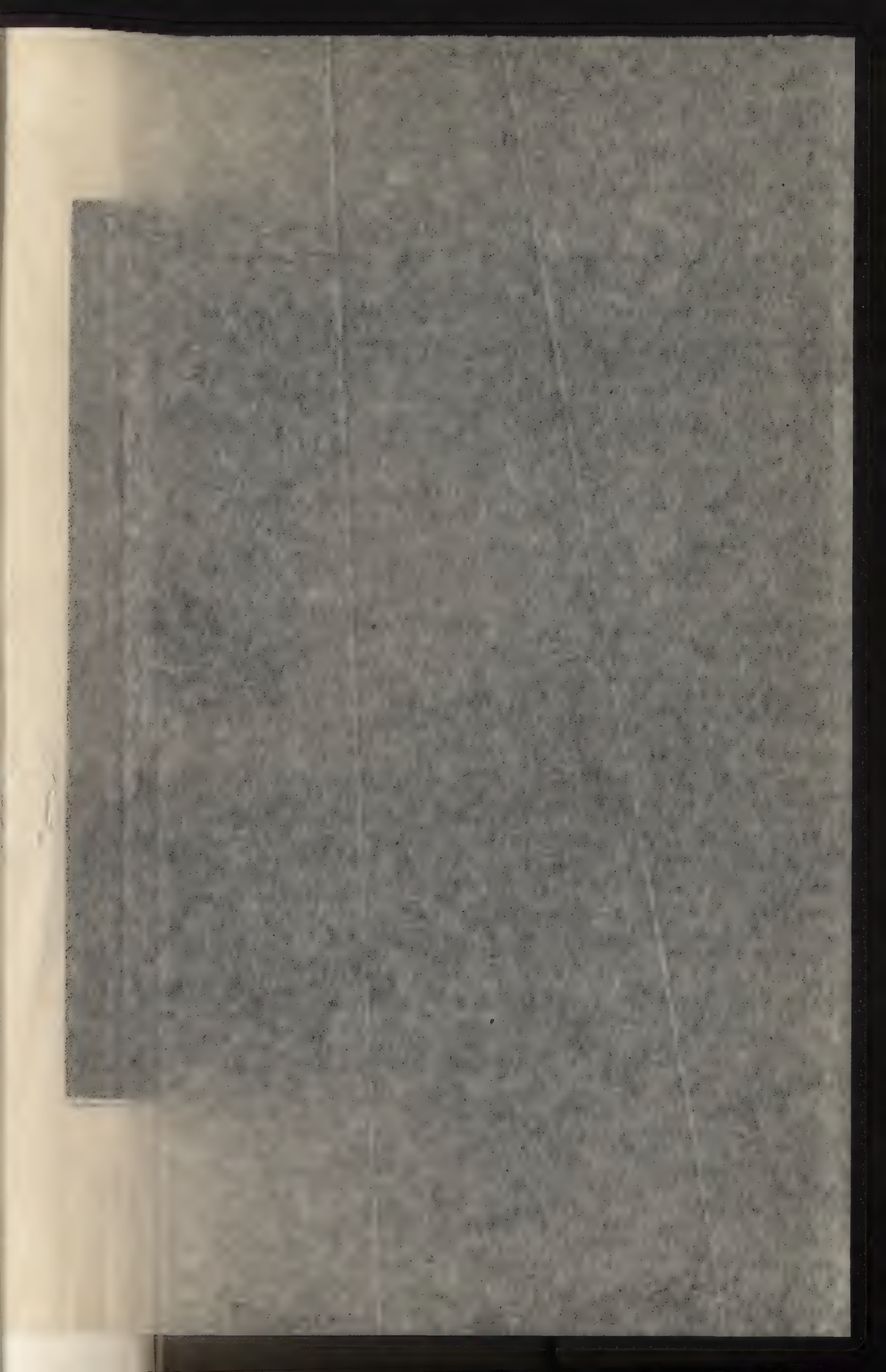
The round panel long in the possession of the Duke of Terranuova, and bought, in 1859, by Frederick William IV. of Prussia for the Berlin Gallery, may also have been painted during this visit to Perugia. Here Raphael again availed himself of a Peruginesque motive, and borrowed his idea of the *Child showing St. John a Scroll*, with the words *ECCE AGNUS DEI*, from a drawing by his master, also at Berlin. But his treatment of the subject shows how far he had left his old teacher behind him. The youthful loveliness and natural movement of Mother and Child, the rocky landscape, the very shape of the picture, are fashioned on Florentine models, and recall the marble roundels of Desiderio or Mino da Fiesole and Michelangelo's *Doni Madonna*. One

more important work, the fresco of the *Trinity* in the Carmelite convent of San Severo, bears the date of 1505, and must have been painted before Raphael left Perugia in the following spring. This work, which is of especial interest as the forerunner of the Vatican frescoes, has suffered terribly from cleaning and restoration. The upper part, containing a figure of God the Father in glory, is practically destroyed, and the lower portion has been entirely painted over. But enough remains to show us the original grandeur of the design. The figure of Christ throned upon the clouds is exactly copied from Fra Bartolommeo's fresco of the *Last Judgment*. So too are the majestic forms of the saints seated in a half-circle on either side, whose noble heads and flowing draperies show how closely the painter had studied Lionardo's types. Having reached this point, Raphael left Perugia without completing the work or painting the row of Camaldoli worthies who were to occupy the space on the lower part of the walls. In vain the good fathers waited, like the nuns of Monte Luce, hoping that the painter would some day come back to finish his fresco. Not till they heard that Raphael was dead would they allow another to complete his work. Then they employed Perugino to paint the missing figures, and the failing hand of the aged master finished the fresco which his scholar had begun in the prime of his genius.

It has always been assumed, on the authority of Passavant, that Raphael went to Urbino in the spring of 1506. There is no actual record of this visit, but it is certain that during the years which he spent in Florence (1504-1508) he frequently visited his old home, and painted several pictures at the Court of Urbino. The allusion to the ducal family in his letters to his uncle, his grief at the death of Guidobaldo, and the fact that he bought a house at Urbino about this time, all support the old tradition that he spent some months at Urbino before his return to Florence in 1506. These were the most brilliant days of the ducal Court, the days which live for ever in the pages of the *Cortigiano*, when the most polished scholars and finest gentlemen of the day met within the palace walls and wrote sonnets and acted pastoral plays in the presence of the Duke and Duchess. Then Elizabeth herself sang verses from the *Æneid* to the music of her lute, and talked of art and love with Madonna Emilia and Bembo, with Canossa

and Castiglione, till the short hours of the summer night were gone and the dawn broke over the peaks of Monte Catria. Raphael may have been there that carnival time, when Castiglione's play was acted before the Court, and his friendship with that accomplished gentleman may date from that spring-time. We know that he was often at Court, that he painted portraits of the Duke and of Castiglione himself, and made a chalk drawing of Bembo, which the Cardinal counted among the choicest treasures of his house at Padua. And tradition says that he painted a portrait of the peerless Duchess Elizabeth for her devoted knight Castiglione, who wrote impassioned verses in her praise, and kept the picture of a *bellissima e principalissima Signora*, by the hand of Raphael of Urbino, to his dying day. All of these are lost, and of the many portraits that Raphael painted at Urbino, the only one remaining is his own picture, which was brought to Rome from his old home in 1588, and is now in the Uffizi. There we see him as he was at three-and-twenty, with brown eyes, long locks of chestnut hair, and a singularly youthful and gentle face. The beautiful features are almost womanly in their charm, the dark eyes are full of poetry, and the black felt cap, the doublet edged with white, and quiet green background, all help to give the same impression of refinement and simplicity. He is already a great master, "the best painter in the land," as the nuns of Monte Luce know, but still as gentle and modest a youth as in the days when he worked in Timoteo's shop. He has kept the sweet and joyous nature that was the charm of his boyhood; "jealous of none, kindly to all, always ready to leave his own work to help another," he is still a favourite with great and small as welcome a guest in the palace of Urbino, or in Baccio's shop at Florence, as he will be one day among cardinals and princes in Rome.

Among the other pictures which Raphael painted for the Duke of Urbino, the only one to which we can point with certainty is the *St. George and the Dragon* in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. This second version of the legend differs in several respects from the *St. George* of the Louvre, and the fine drawing in the Uffizi shows a marked advance on his former conception. The position of horse and rider is reversed, and instead of charging towards us they are seen from behind. The hero gallops past at full speed on his fiery white horse, and rising in his



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Raphael. Per x1.

Brass, Clement & Co. N. Y. C.

Portrait of Raphael.



stirrups, drives his spear through the dragon's coils. In the background, overgrown with bushes, is the cavern where the monster dwelt, and on the other side we see the rescued princess on her knees thanking Heaven for



St. George and the Dragon. From a drawing by Raphael in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

her deliverance. The name *Raphello U.* is written on the charger's blue and gold harness, and St. George himself wears the riband of the Garter with the word *Honi*, on his knee. This finely coloured and spirited little

picture was evidently painted to commemorate Duke Guidobaldo's admission into the ranks of this illustrious order. The insignia of the Garter, which had been conferred on his father, Duke Federigo, and was now bestowed on Guidobaldo, by Henry VII., was presented to the Duke by the Abbot of Glastonbury and Sir Gilbert Talbot, when they were sent to Rome, in June 1504, to congratulate Pope Julius II. on his election in the name of the English monarch. The newly elected knight proudly wore his Garter on the next St. George's Day, and held high festival on the 23rd of April, at Urbino. It was customary for foreign princes on whom this honour was conferred to send an ambassador to England, within the next year, to be installed in his master's place. Castiglione was selected, as early as March 1505, for this mission, but did not finally set out for England until September 1506. After much care and deliberation, the Duke chose three fine chargers of the famous Urbino breed, and various other costly presents, and gave them to his messenger to lay before the King of England. Among these, it has always been supposed, was Raphael's picture of St. George, which is now at St. Petersburg. That a St. George painted by Raphael's hand was in Henry the Eighth's collection of pictures is no doubt true, but the following description, from the Inventory of works of art at Westminster Palace, taken at the time of that monarch's death, cannot apply to the Hermitage picture :—

“126. Item. A table with the picture of St. George, his spear being broken and his sword in his hand.”¹

The words exactly describe the first St. George, painted, it is supposed, about 1504, for the Duke of Urbino, and now in the Louvre. In that picture the Saint is armed with a sword, and the fragments of his shattered spear lie on the ground at his horse's feet, while in Raphael's second version of the subject, St. George's sword is in his sheath and he slays the dragon with his spear. There can be little doubt that it was the Louvre picture which Castiglione presented to Henry VII. on his master's behalf, in November 1506, and that in its stead Raphael painted the second St. George, which remained in the palace at Urbino as a memorial of the Garter bestowed upon the Duke. This may have been the St. George by Raphael which Lomazzo saw in 1548 in Milan, and which is

¹ Harleian MS. 1419, in the British Museum.



The Madonna del Prato. • By Raphael. Belvedere Gallery, Vienna.

mentioned by Passavant as belonging to M. de la Noue and M. de Sourdis, but in any case it came during the last century, into the Crozat Collection, from which it was finally bought by the Empress Catherine II. of Russia. Henry the Eighth's *St. George*, on the other hand, after being described in Van der Doort's catalogue of the Whitehall pictures as "Raphael's *St. George*, a little picture," was sold after Charles the First's execution for the sum of £150. It was bought by Cardinal Mazarin, one of the chief purchasers at the royal sale, and passed from his collection into the Louvre.

If Raphael was still at Urbino in September 1506, he must have seen Pope Julius II., as he stopped there on his way to conquer Bologna, and witnessed the splendid festivities with which that warlike pontiff was received by the Duke and Duchess. But before the end of the autumn he was back at Florence, where, Vasari tells us, he once more devoted himself with incredible ardour to the study of art. The cartoons of Lionardo and Michelangelo were now exposed to public view in the Council Hall, and Raphael was among the crowd of artists who flocked to the Palazzo Vecchio to study these masterpieces, which created such an extraordinary sensation, and became, in Benvenuto Cellini's words, "the school of the whole world." While his friend Bastiano Sangallo copied Michelangelo's *Soldiers bathing in the Arno*, Raphael drew these masterly groups of soldiers and horsemen fighting for the flag, from Lionardo's *Battle of the Standard*, which are preserved in the Venice Sketch-book. But the frescoes of the Great Hall were never painted, for Michelangelo had been summoned to Rome, and Lionardo had thrown up the work in disgust, after painting a single group upon the walls, and was gone to Milan. Perugino had also left Florence, where his art was no longer as popular as in past days, and soon afterwards went to Rome. But Fra Bartolommeo remained to welcome his friend back, and with him Raphael lived during the next two years, on terms of the closest intimacy. The Dominican painter's influence is strongly marked in the pyramidal arrangement and colouring of the group of Madonnas which Raphael painted immediately after his return to Florence in 1506. Foremost among these was the *Madonna del Prato*, which he painted for Taddeo Taddei, and which was sold by his friend's descendants to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, after whose



*The Madonna-del Cardellino. By Raphael. Pitti Gallery, Florence.
From a photograph by Alinari, by permission.*

death it passed, with the rest of the Schloss Ambras Collection, into the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. The Virgin, seated on a stone bench in a flowery meadow, looks down with the sweetest of smiles on the child standing on the grass at her feet, and gently guides his steps, as he receives a cross of reeds from the hands of the kneeling St. John. The same grouping is repeated in the *Madonna del Cardellino*, which Raphael painted in the same year as a wedding present for Lorenzo Nasi, who had doubtless seen and admired Taddeo's picture. Only here the action of the children is more playful, and instead of the cross, the boy Baptist places a goldfinch in the hands of his companion, while the Virgin turns from the book that lies open before her, to watch their happy faces. Unfortunately this picture, which Lorenzo Nasi treasured "both on account of its rare excellence and of the great love that he bore to Raphael," was broken to pieces, thirty years later, in an earthquake which destroyed the Nasi *palazzo*. The fragments were carefully put together again, and the *Madonna del Cardellino*, as all the world knows, is now one of the gems of the Pitti Gallery. A third picture in a similar style, commonly called *La Belle Jardinière*, was painted in 1507, and bought by Francis I. from Filippo Sergardi of Siena. Here the Virgin is resting in a fair garden, full of flowers and bushes, and looks down with an expression of infinite tenderness at the child, whose face is lifted in eager questioning to hers, while St. John kneels reverently at her feet. This picture is generally supposed to be the one which Vasari mentions as having been finished by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, who painted the Virgin's blue mantle, after Raphael had left Florence. But it is doubtful if the picture to which Vasari alludes may not have been the Colonna Virgin, at Berlin, which was painted later, and clearly executed by an inferior hand.

These three pictures—the Cardellino, Prato, and Louvre Madonnas—rank among Raphael's most perfect creations. In all three the Virgin's face is full of charm, the children are animated by the same free and natural movement, and the landscape is of the same rich and varied description. Tall pines and distant lakes, still waters sleeping in the shadow of blue mountains, heights crowned with castles and bell-towers adorn the background, and bear witness to Raphael's delight in the beauty of the natural world. The flowers and grasses of the



*La Belle Jardinière. By Raphael. In the Louvre.
From a photograph by Braun, Clément et Cie, by permission.*



foreground, the very weeds and rushes, are painted with loving care and accuracy. We watch the fleecy white clouds floating across the sky, and the dim haze that rests on the hills through the summer day. Often the scenery recalls the Tuscan Apennines in the neighbourhood of Florence. In the Cardellino Madonna, for instance, we have a picturesque valley, such as you may see in the mountainous district at Vallombrosa or La Vernia, with a single arched bridge spanning the torrent, on the one hand, and on the other, the Duomo and Campanile of Giotto.

The bride of Lorenzo Nasi, who received this fair wedding gift from Raphael, was Sandra Canigiani, and it was for a member of her family that the Canigiani Madonna at Munich was originally painted. This picture afterwards became the property of the Medici, and was given as a wedding present to Anne de' Medici, daughter of Cosimo III., when she married the Elector Palatine. Here St. Joseph is introduced, leaning on his staff and looking down on a group composed of the Virgin and Child, St. John, and his mother St. Elizabeth, an aged and toothless matron in the style of Andrea del Sarto. The different expression of the heads is finely given, but the formal effect of the whole has been increased by the removal of the choir of angels in the sky, and the rest of the picture has been much damaged by clumsy restoration. The name "Raphael Urbinas" may still be read on the hem of the Virgin's bodice, but his assistants probably had a share in the work. There is far more charm in the *Madonna with the Lamb* at Madrid, sadly as this too has suffered from time and repainting. There the child sits astride on the back of a lamb, and throws both arms round its neck, a motive clearly derived from Lionardo, but carried out with true Raphaelesque grace. The landscape, with its distant lake and castle towers, its road winding up the heights, and flight of birds across the sky, is painted with exquisite finish. The date, 1507, is inscribed on the Madrid picture. To the same year we may assign the Bridgewater Madonna, formerly in the Orleans Collection. A sheet of charming studies, in Raphael's most delicate silver-point drawing, representing children in varied attitudes, is preserved in the British Museum, and bears witness to the pains which he bestowed upon the preparation of this work. The painter has once more gone back to his old conception, and has given us only two figures in the picture. The Virgin is of the same type as the Cardellino Madonna, but the free-

dom of the drawing and lively action of the child, turning round to seize his mother's veil, point to a later date. Meanwhile the greater part of Raphael's time and thoughts were devoted to the preparation of another and more important work.

Before leaving Perugia in 1506 he received a commission from Atalanta Baglioni, the widowed mother of the murdered Grifone, to paint an altar-piece of the Entombment for a chapel which she had endowed in the Cathedral of that city. According to Vasari, Raphael first executed the cartoon in Florence, and finally completed the picture at Perugia in 1507. This commission was in some respects the most important which he had yet received, and the ardour with which he applied himself to his task shows how anxious he was to produce a masterpiece worthy of the occasion. The numerous and varied studies which are still to be seen in the Uffizi, the Louvre, the British Museum, the University galleries at Oxford, the Albertina, Habich, and Malcolm collections, bear witness to the immense amount of thought and labour which Raphael bestowed upon the subject. The natural difference and timidity of his nature prompted him, as before, to seek the help of other men's ideas, and he borrowed one figure after another from familiar versions of the same theme. First of all he took the pathetic *Pietà* that Perugino had painted for the nuns of Santa Chiara, in Florence, as his model, and represented the dead Christ in his mother's arms, wept over by his sorrowing disciples, in a series of studies at Oxford, and one fine drawing in the Louvre. Here the figure of St. John, standing apart and clasping his hands in an agony of despair, was borrowed from Mantegna's famous print of the Entombment. In another study (in the Gay Collection) the Magdalen, a noble and touching figure, kneels at the feet of St. John, and fixes her sorrowful gaze on the dead Christ, while Nicodemus and two other men stand farther back. But then a sudden change came over the painter's thoughts, and, discarding his original intention, he adopted Mantegna's design, and represented the dead Christ carried in the arms of bearers to the grave, while the fainting Virgin, supported by the holy women, formed the subject of a second group on the right. A whole series of drawings illustrate the progress of his thought in this new direction. In the Uffizi we have the central group. The foremost bearers are represented stepping backwards up the stone steps

that lead to the tomb hewn in the rock, and the Magdalen, stooping tenderly over her dead Lord, holds his arm in her hand. In the Malcolm Collection there is a separate study of the Virgin and her companions, one of whom, kneeling on the ground and turning round to support the fainting mother, is copied from the Madonna of Michelangelo's Doni picture. Another altogether different version may be seen in the accom-



Sketch for the Entombment. By Raphael. Habich Collection.

panying drawing from the Habich Collection at Cassel, a slight and rapid sketch, but marked in an especial manner by the peculiar lightness and boldness of the master's touch. In the end, Raphael retained Mantegna's grouping, altering some types and modifying others in accordance with his gentler nature and more refined feeling. He kept the Magdalen, but left out the solitary St. John, and placed the beloved disciple among the bearers

at the head of the group. And he framed the composition in a rich and varied landscape, making the hill of Calvary with the three crosses, as seen in Mantegna's print, a prominent object in the view. The two groups are cleverly linked together by the action of one of the women, who looks back at the dead Christ while supporting his mother in her arms, and the influence of Michelangelo is apparent, not only in the kneeling figure, but in the limbs and body of the Christ, which recall the great sculptor's *Pietà* in St. Peter's.

Unfortunately the combination of all these separate motives did not succeed in producing an harmonious effect, and the result of all these labours is distinctly disappointing. The correctness and vigour of the drawing, the variety of expression in the heads and attitudes, the skill with which these ten figures are grouped in a comparatively small space, is undeniable. But for all this Raphael's *Entombment* leaves us cold and unmoved. As a triumph of academic skill it may command our admiration, but it lacks the spontaneous charm, the simpler and natural pathos of his finest work. This is no doubt partly the result of the excessive labour and prolonged study which he had bestowed upon the composition. It may also partly be explained by the share which his assistants had in the completion of the work. These deficiencies, however, were not felt by the painter's contemporaries, who hailed *The Entombment* with a general burst of delight. Vasari's impassioned language reflects the wonder with which they looked upon this masterpiece, and saw in it a perfection beyond all that had been hitherto known in art. And in one sense they were right. Raphael had reached a point of mastery to which few artists have ever attained. In scientific knowledge and technical completeness, in the vivid representation of human life and emotion, the Urbinate had far surpassed his teachers, and stood on a level with the first masters of the day. The citizens of Perugia might well applaud his latest achievement, and had good reason to raise an indignant protest when this altar-piece, which was the proudest treasure of their cathedral, was presented by the Franciscan friars to Cardinal Borghese, afterwards Pope Paul V. Since then Raphael's *Entombment* has been the chief ornament of the Borghese Gallery, and has now been removed, with the remainder of that collection, to the villa outside the Porta del Popolo.

The predella of this altar-piece, unlike most pictures of this class, is

distinguished by originality of subject and excellence of execution. The three Christian Graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity, are here painted in chiaroscuro on round panels, each of them accompanied by two winged



*The Entombment. By Raphael. Borghese Gallery, Rome.
From a photograph by Alinari, by permission.*

genii. Faith bears in her hand the chalice and host, as the symbol of redemption; Hope clasps her hands and lifts her eyes heavenward in the calm certainty of unshaken trust. Charity, a Madonna-like form with a handkerchief twisted round her brows, folds three fair children in her

arms, while two more cling to her side, and seem to ask for a share in her embrace. The sketch of this noble figure is in the Albertina Collection, on the back of another of the many studies which Raphael made for Atalanta Baglioni's altar-piece.

In October 1507, while the painter, in all probability, was still at work upon his *Entombment*, he was suddenly summoned to appear before the law-courts of Urbino. Some time before this, the heirs of Serafino Cervasi di Montefalcone had sold him a house for 100 scudi, and had given him a nominal receipt, although the money had not yet been paid down. The Cervasi were now condemned to pay a fine of $87\frac{1}{2}$ scudi for having allowed the marriage of a minor in their family without legal authority, and, being unable to meet their liabilities, they applied to Raphael for the payment of his debt. On the 11th of October, he appeared in court and paid the Duke's treasurer, Francesco Buffi, the sum of 50 ducats, promising to pay the remainder of the fine before Christmas, and giving his creditors $12\frac{1}{2}$ scudi as the balance of the sum due to them. This document, which was discovered by Signor Alippi in 1881, proves that Raphael was at Urbino as late as October 1507. Guidobaldo was already suffering from the lingering disease that was soon to end his life at the age of thirty-six, but his palace was still the centre of a brilliant court. Castiglione, who had returned from England in the spring, Bembo and Emilia Pia, and young Francesco della Rovere and his mother, were all there, and with their help the Duchess sought to cheer the hours of her sick husband. On this last visit, Raphael certainly renewed his intercourse with the ducal family, and may have painted some of the portraits that have been already mentioned. He was never to see his native city again, but the memory of these happy days did not pass away. In all the turmoil of his Roman life his old home was not forgotten. His dearest friends, Castiglione, Bembo, Bibbiena, were the men whom he had known at Urbino. Overworked and pressed for time as he was at the Papal Court, he never lost sight of his family or failed in his duty to his uncle. "Do not complain if I do not write," he says in one letter; "I love you with my whole heart, and your name is as dear to me as that of a father." Four years later, we find him interceding with the Pope for an Urbinat in disgrace, then again pleading the cause of a kinsman who is seeking a vacant benefice. He

begs his uncle to tell the new Duke and Duchess, his old friend Francesca della Rovere and Eleanora Gonzaga, how well he is prospering, and as one of their subjects, rejoices to think that he is doing honour to them, to his family and his country. On the 11th of April 1508, Duke Guidobaldo died, and Raphael, hearing the sad news, wrote the following letter from Florence to his uncle, Simone Ciarla :—

“Dear to me as a father, I have received your letter telling me of the death of our illustrious Lord Duke. May God have pity upon his soul ! Indeed I could not read your letter without shedding tears. But he is gone, and there is no more to be said. We must have patience, and bow to the will of God. I wrote the other day to my uncle the priest [Don Bartolommeo] asking him to send me the little picture which the Lady Prefetessa used as a cover. He has not yet sent it. I beg you to let him know, that I may satisfy Madonna, for I may shortly require her help. I also ask you, my dearest uncle, to tell the priest and Santa [his father’s widowed sister] that if Taddeo Taddei the Florentine, of whom we have often spoken, should come to Urbino, they must spare neither money nor pains to do him honour. I pray you also to show him kindness, for my sake, for I am certainly more indebted to him than to any man living. As for the picture, I have not yet fixed the price, and if possible I shall not name any sum, for it will be better for me to have it valued. So I could not tell you before what I did not know myself, and even now cannot say for certain. But from what I hear, the owner of this picture says that he will give me orders worth 300 gold crowns, for work either here or in France. When the feast-days are over, perhaps I shall be able to tell you the price I am to receive, since I have already finished the cartoon, and after Easter shall set to work at the picture. I should, if possible, very much like to obtain a letter of recommendation from the Lord Prefect for the Gonfaloniere of Florence. A few days ago I wrote to my uncle and to Giacomo, to beg them to procure this for me, from Rome. It would be very useful to me, on account of some work in a certain room, which his lordship can give to whom he pleases. I beg of you to ask for this, for I think that if the Lord Prefect hears it is for me, he will consent, and I commend myself to him many times over, as his old servant and friend. Commend me also to Maestro . . . and to Ridolfo [his cousin] and

all the others. xxi. day of April 1508.—From your Raffaello, painter, in Florence.”

We do not know if the Lord Prefect complied with this request, but he probably rendered Raphael a more important service by recommending him, a few months afterwards, to his uncle Pope Julius II. The employer of whom Raphael speaks in his letter was probably the dealer Gian Battista Palla, who acted as agent for Francis I. and many illustrious lovers of art. The cartoon on which he was engaged may have been the fine drawing of *St. Catherine* in the Louvre, since we know that the picture of *St. Catherine* now in the National Gallery was painted about this time. The Saint, in grey robe and crimson mantle, is leaning against the wheel of martyrdom looking up with an air of saintly resignation in her eyes. A gleam of sunlight, beaming through the clouds, falls upon her face like a ray of hope from another world. The landscape is soft and rural: village-roofs peep out among the trees along the shore of a still lake, and low hills rise in the distance, while the flowering grasses and dandelion-seed in the foreground are there to tell us how soon death comes to all and how short is the day of youth and joy. “In the morning it is green and groweth up, in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered.”

Among other works of this period are the Colonna and Nicolini Madonnas. The former was first the property of the Salviati of Florence, then of the Colonna of Rome, from whom it was purchased by Bunsen for the Berlin Gallery. The latter was bought by Lord Cowper from the Nicolini of Florence, and is now at Panshanger. Both are finely designed, but executed at least in part by assistants. A certain affectation in the Virgin's air, as well as the attitude of the Child, betray the touch of an inferior hand. At this period of his life Raphael seems to have been in the habit of supplying his friends at Perugia with designs for pictures, and the museum at Lille contains a carefully shaded drawing of a Holy Family which he sent to Domenico Alfani. Here no less than six figures are introduced—Zacharias and Elizabeth in the background, the Virgin and children in front, and St. Joseph in the act of giving the infant Christ a pomegranate. The cherubs in the sky are not unlike the boy-angels of the San Sisto, and the forms of distant hills and

trees are all indicated. On the back of the sheet we read the following lines in Raphael's handwriting :—



St. Catherine. By Raphael. From the picture in the National Gallery.

“Remember Menico, to send me the *strambotti* (songs) of Ricciardo, about the tempest which overtook him on his journey.” According to

Grimm, Raphael here alluded to a passage of Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*. "Remind Cesarino [the artist Cesare di Rosetti] to send me that sermon, and commend me to him. Remember also to ask Madonna Atalanta to send me the money, and see that it is in gold, and tell Cesarino to remind her to do this. And if I can do anything more for you let me know."

Such paintings as the *Virgin with the Beardless St. Joseph* at St. Petersburg and the *Madonna of the Palm* in the Bridgewater Gallery were probably executed from similar designs, and passed for Raphael's work in later years. Two other pictures were begun by him during that last summer at Florence, but left unfinished at the time of his departure. One of these was the altar-piece known as the *Madonna del Baldacchino*, ordered by the Dei family for their chapel in the Church of St. Spirito. A Virgin and Child very similar to the Nicolini and Bridgewater Madonnas are enthroned under a domed canopy, and at their feet, two lovely boy-angels are singing from the scroll of music which they hold in their hands. The seraphs, who, hovering in mid-air, draw back the curtains on either side, and the saints who stand on the steps of the throne—Peter and Bernard on the right, James and Augustine on the left—bear a marked likeness to the similar figures in Fra Bartolommeo's *Marriage of St. Catherine*, and afford another proof of the close community of thought and style that existed between these two masters. After Raphael's death, this picture, which remained unfinished in his studio, was bought by Monsignor Turini, the Papal Datary, and placed in the Cathedral of his native city of Pescia. In the last century it was purchased by a Tuscan Grand Duke, who employed the artist Cassana to finish Raphael's work, and placed it in the Pitti Gallery. The other was the little picture of the *Virgin and Child with St. John* which Clement XI. presented to the Empress Elizabeth in the last century, and which is now in the Esterhazy Gallery at Buda-Pesth. The original cartoon for this Madonna, in the Uffizi, is far more lovely than the picture itself. The kneeling mother and eager child are drawn with the same delicate grace as the Madrid Virgin, and in the background, Raphael has given us a glimpse of some Tuscan valley with a mill-stream descending between wooded banks and a hill crowned with towers. In the picture itself, this landscape was altered, and a background of ruined temple and cliffs afterwards added by one of Raphael's pupils. But the drawings

of this period as a rule excel the finished pictures in form and beauty of expression. Nothing, for instance, can be finer than the *Santa*



Sta. Apollonia. By Raphael. Habich Collection.

Apollonia of the Habich Collection, a standing figure with a profile of the same type as *St. Catherine* and the *Graces* in the Vatican. Like most

of Raphael's drawings at this time, this study is executed in black chalk, a practice which he had lately borrowed from Fra Bartolommeo and now frequently adopted instead of the pen-drawing common in Perugino's school. But at this time of his life Raphael, like other masters of his age, was obliged to avail himself largely of the help of assistants, in order to satisfy the demands of his patrons. He was now an original and independent artist, able to stand alone, and second to none in his profession. He had learnt all that Perugino and Fra Bartolommeo had to teach, and the separate currents of Ferrarese, of Umbrian, and of Florentine painting were united in his art. All that he needed now was a wider field, a sphere where his powers of brain and hand might be displayed on a grander scale, before the eyes of a larger world. This was what he sought when he asked Duke Francesco to plead his cause with the Gonfaloniere of Florence, and begged for leave to paint a single room in the Palazzo Vecchio, all unconscious of the Vatican halls that were awaiting him. His opportunity soon came. Whether the young Duke recommended his friend, whether Bramante suddenly remembered his fellow-citizen, or whether Michelangelo himself told his Holiness that the painter of Urbino was the man for his work, the Pope's summons reached him that autumn, and at twenty-five, Raphael went to Rome and entered on the last stage of his glorious career.

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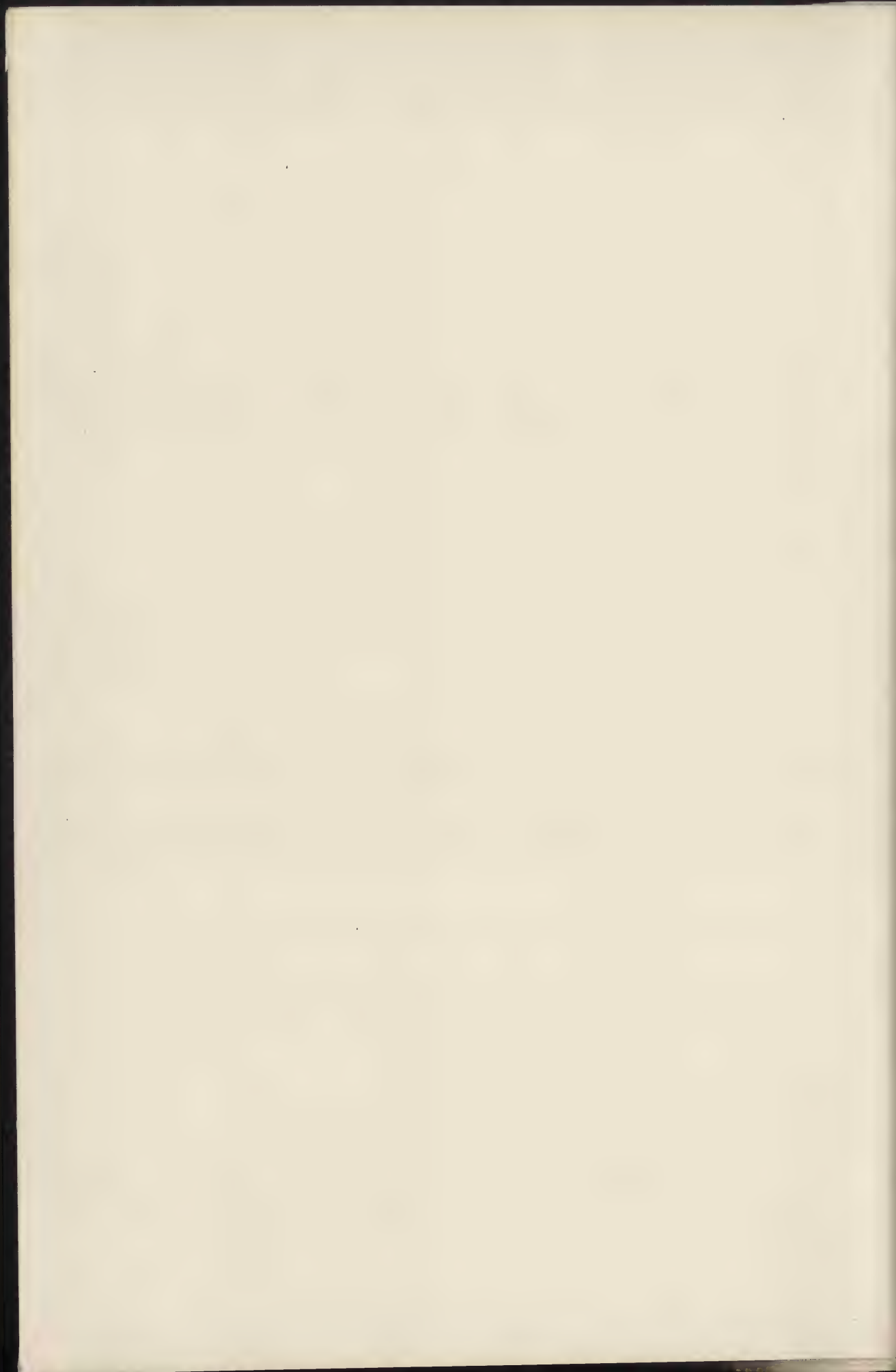
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PART II
RAPHAEL IN ROME



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Raphael, Rome.

Water-L. Colls. Ph. Sc.

The Madonna di Foligno.

RAPHAEL IN ROME

PART I

RAPHAEL AT THE COURT OF POPE JULIUS II

1506—1512

Raphael summoned to Rome by the Pope—His appointment—He finds the Pope in the Stanza della Segnatura—The Disputa—School of Athens—Frescoes—The fresco of the second Stanza—Expulsion of Heliodorus—Narcissus—The second fresco of the period—The Madonna of Cowper House—The fresco of Polydorus—Fresco of Pope Julius II—Engraving of Michelangelo from Raphael's design—Death of Julius II.

"ROME," wrote Erasmus to Cardinal Glinus, "is the centre of the world. In Rome is liberty. In Rome are the splendid libraries. In Rome one meets and converses with men of learning. In Rome are the magnificent monuments of the past. On Rome are fastened the eyes of all mankind."

To this Rome, for which the needy scholar sighed under the gravies of England, Raphael of Urbino now came in the flower of his youth and genius. For the rest of his short life the capital of Christendom was his home and the scene of his splendid labours. Here, for the first time, he came under the full influence of classical art, and in the presence of that ancient world his genius blossomed out in a thousand new and varied forms. He reached Rome early in the autumn of 1508. Such, at least, is the received tradition, based in part upon the following letter, which he addressed from Rome to Francia, the friend and teacher of his own master, Timoteo Viti. —

"DEAR MESSER FRANCESCO,—I have just received your portrait, which Bazzotto brought me in good condition, without injury of any kind, and



RAPHAEL IN ROME

PART I

RAPHAEL AT THE COURT OF POPE JULIUS II

1508—1513

Raphael summoned to Rome by the Pope—His letter to Francia—He paints the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura—The Disputa—School of Athens—Parnassus—The frescoes of the second Stanza—Expulsion of Heliodorus—Mass of Bolsena—Easel pictures of this period—The Madonna di Casa d'Alba—della Sedia—di Foligno—Portrait of Pope Julius II.—Engravings of Marc Antonio from Raphael's designs—Death of Julius II.

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“DEAR MESSER FRANCESCO,—I have just received your portrait, which Bazzotto brought me in good condition, without injury of any kind, and

for which I thank you exceedingly. It is very fine, and so lifelike that at times it almost deceives me. I seem to be with you and to hear your voice. I beg you to pardon my delay in sending you my own, but serious and incessant labours have prevented me from painting it with my own hand as I had agreed. I might, indeed, have had it painted by one of my assistants and only touched it up myself, but this would hardly have been fitting, although I know that I cannot hope to equal your work. Forgive me, I pray, since you, too, have known what it is to be deprived of liberty and bound to work for patrons who afterwards

..... Meanwhile, by the hand of the bearer, who returns in six days, I send you another drawing, one of the Nativity, differing in some respects, as you will see, from the painting which you were good enough to praise so warmly, speaking of it as you have done before of my other works, in a way that makes me blush. I am ashamed to have nothing better to offer you, but beg you to accept this trifle in token of the obedience and love which I owe you. If in return I may receive one of your *Judith*, I shall keep it among my most dear and precious things. Monsignore il Datario is anxiously expecting his little *Madonna* and Cardinal Riario his large one, as you will hear from Bazzotto. And I shall behold them with the same delight and satisfaction which I have felt in contemplating your other works, never having seen any that are fairer and more devout or better painted. Be of good courage, act with your wonted prudence, and believe that I feel your sorrows as if they were my own. Continue to love me as I love you, with my whole heart.—Your devoted servant,

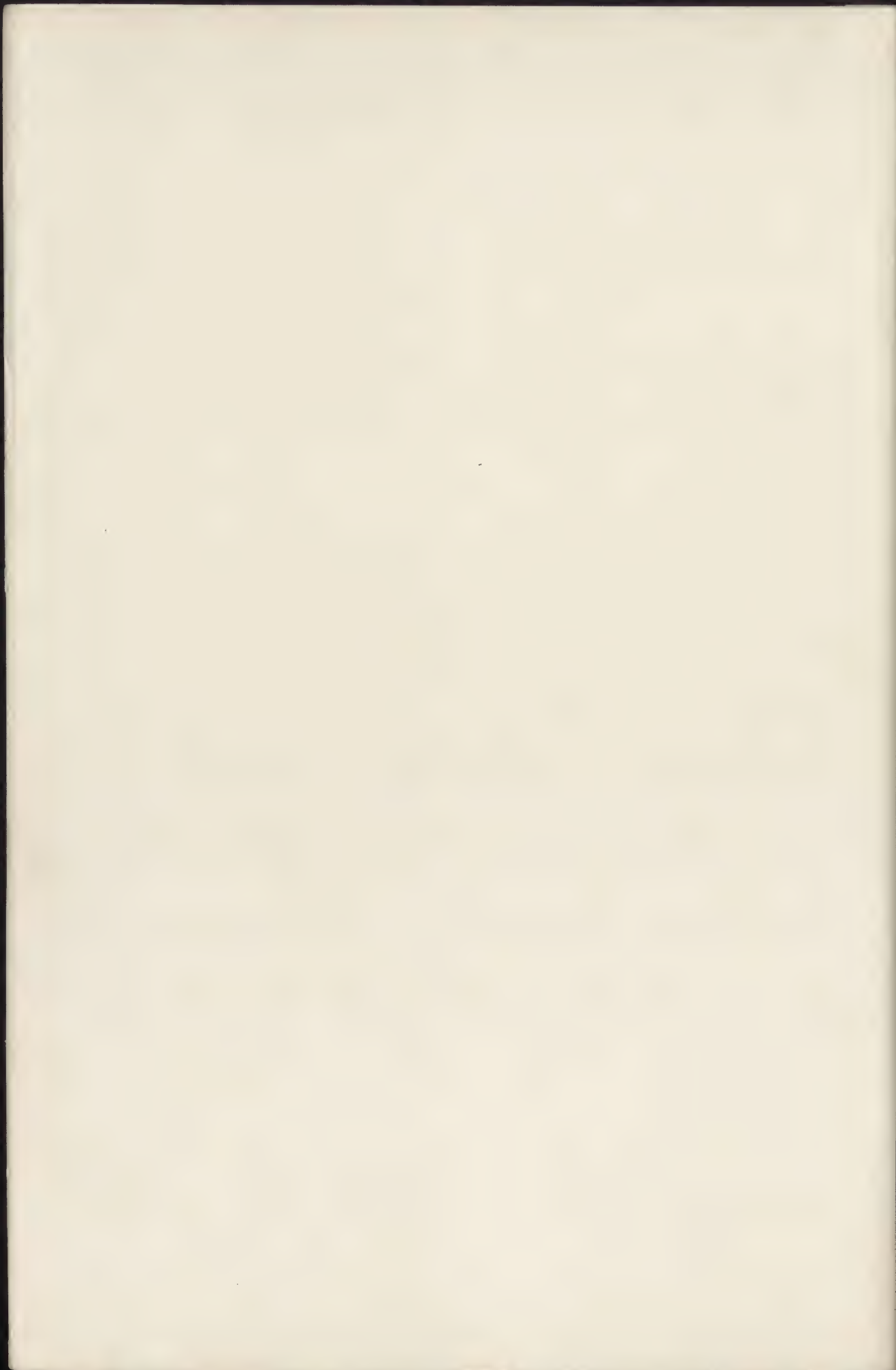
“RAFFAELLE SANZIO.

“ROME, the 5th of September, 1508.”

The original MS. of this letter was found by Malvasia among the papers of the Lambertini family at Bologna, and first published by him in 1678. Its genuineness has been questioned, not without reason. The style has been modernised and the signature of Raffaello Sanzio was never employed by the painter. But its contents agree with Vasari's statement that Raphael and Francia exchanged letters and portraits, and although it is unlikely that Raphael was ever at Bologna, Francia, we know, painted several pictures for Duke Guidobaldo, and may himself have visited Urbino. The Roman prelate, to whom Raphael alludes, had



Poetry, by Raphael. Vatican.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.



lately accompanied the Pope to Bologna, and the expulsion of Francia's patrons, the Bentivogli, and the destruction of the painting of *Judith* with which he had adorned their palace, must have been fresh in the master's mind. But whether this letter is genuine or not, the date of Raphael's arrival is proved by a passage in his report on ancient monuments, where, writing a few weeks before his death, in the spring of 1520, he says that he has not yet been twelve years in Rome.

The decoration of the Vatican Stanze was the first work upon which his powers were to be displayed. From the moment of his accession, Julius II. had declared that he would not live in the rooms which had been polluted by the crimes of his detested predecessor, Alexander VI. and had taken up his abode in the upper story of the palace. Close to the rooms which he now occupied were four halls built by Nicholas V., but still remaining in an unfinished state. The new Pope, bent upon making his reign memorable, summoned a number of distinguished artists to complete the internal decoration of these apartments on a scale corresponding with the vastness of his ideas. Perugino, Bramantino, Peruzzi, and Sodoma were all employed in the Vatican during 1507 and 1508, while Bramante was rebuilding St. Peter's and Michelangelo painting the Sistine Chapel. Now Raphael was summoned to take his part in decorating the Stanza della Segnatura, the hall where official documents received the papal seal. On the ceiling of this room, which Sodoma had already adorned with mythological subjects, the young master of Urbino painted his famous allegorical figures, *Theology, Poetry, Philosophy and Law*. Julius II. was so well pleased with these works, that he bade his new artist proceed with the decoration of the walls. At the same time, with characteristic impetuosity, he dismissed the other artists whom he had hitherto employed, and ordered the paintings which they had already executed to be destroyed. All that Raphael, the most courteous and modest of men, could obtain, was the preservation of the frescoes which Sodoma, Peruzzi, and Perugino had respectively painted on the ceilings of the different halls. He now applied himself with ardour to his great task. The amount of time and thought which he devoted to the preparation of his cartoons is shown by the large number of studies still to be seen in the principal collections of Europe, at Milan and Lille, in the Louvre and Albertina, at Oxford and at Windsor. He took counsel,

there can be little doubt, with all the humanists whom he knew, alike with his old Urbino friends, Castiglione, Bembo, and Bibbiena, and with the poets and scholars whom he found at the papal court. A letter which he addressed to Ariosto, who visited Rome in 1509, asking his advice as to the introduction of certain personages in his frescoes was extant in the last century, and is mentioned by Richardson in his *Treatise on Painting*. He recalled old memories of his Florentine and Umbrian days, and learnt new lessons from the antique marbles around him. And out of all these different elements, his wonderful intelligence evolved a grand scheme of decoration, embracing the whole realm of human knowledge.

The four medallions of the ceiling supplied the keynotes of his design. In the library of the ducal palace at Urbino, the students of Theology and Philosophy, of Law and Poetry were pictured on the walls as described by Raphael's father in his poem. These four branches of learning were now represented by the painter in the form of fair women, attended by winged children in every variety of attitude. Theology robed in red and green and crowned with oak-leaves—the badge of the Della Revere house to which Julius II. belonged, holds an open book in one hand, while with the other she points to the assembly of the Saints on the wall below. An expression of heavenly peace and gentleness rests on her face, and the tablets in the hands of the boys at her side bear the words: *Notitia divinarum rerum*. Philosophy is seated in a marble chair, clad in antique costume. Her features are of classic mould, her deep, far-seeing eyes seem to know the meaning of all things. In her hands she bears the books of nature and of morals, and the tablets of the genii are inscribed with the motto: *causarum cognitio*. Justice wields a drawn sword in her right and holds a pair of scales in her left hand, while the open book borne aloft by four cherubs reveals her name: *Jus suum Unicuique*. Last and fairest of all, Poetry, winged and robed in blue, with a laurel wreath on her brow, and book and lyre in her hand, lifts her dark eyes to heaven, radiant with a divine rapture. She has heard the voices of the gods and caught the breath of their inspiration. Virgil's line, *Numine afflatur*, is written on the tablets of the laughing children, who float on the rosy clouds at her feet. This figure should be compared with the fine drawing at Windsor which bears so



Theology, by Raphael. Vatican.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.



marked a likeness to the later Florentine Madonnas and the *St. Katherine*, and was clearly Raphael's first thought for the *Poesia*. The forms and draperies of these allegorical figures remind us in some ways of Perugino's



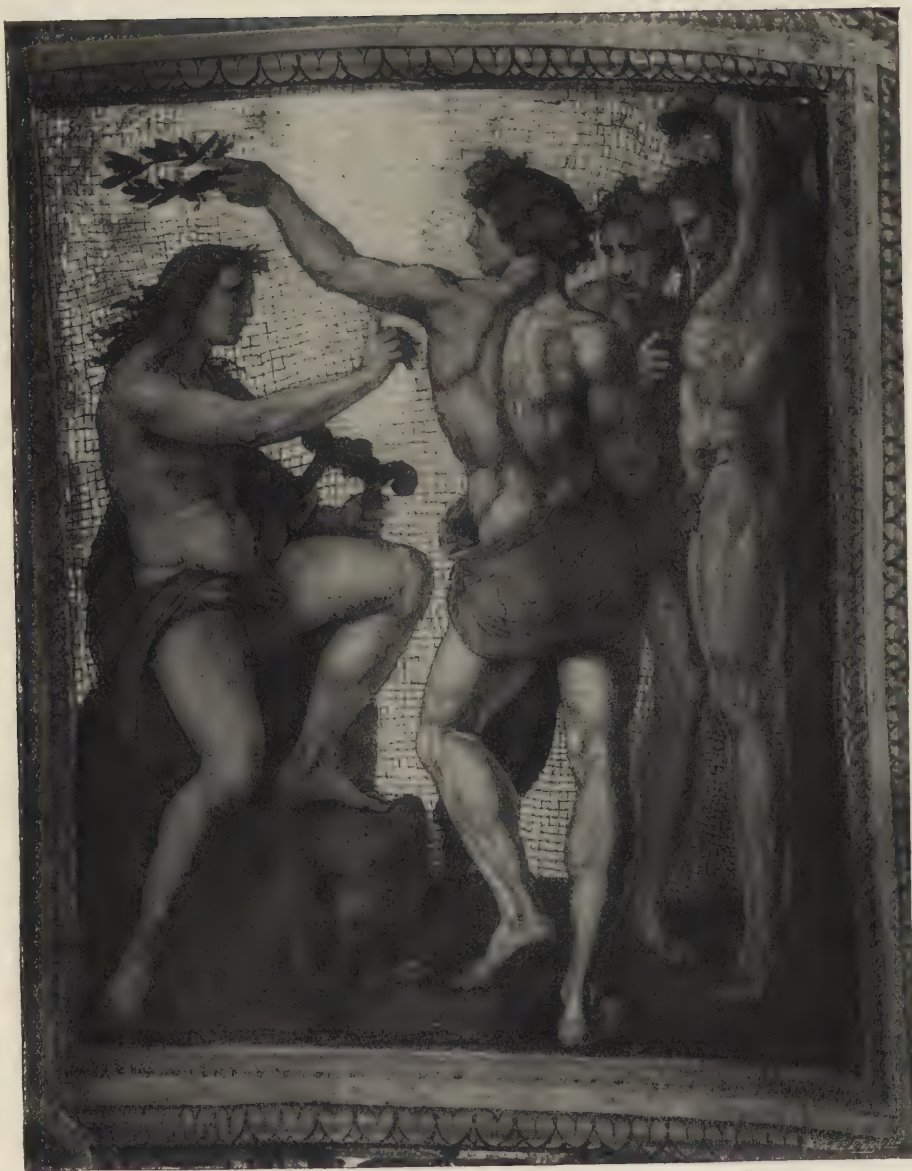
Fortune, by Raphael. Vatican.

From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.

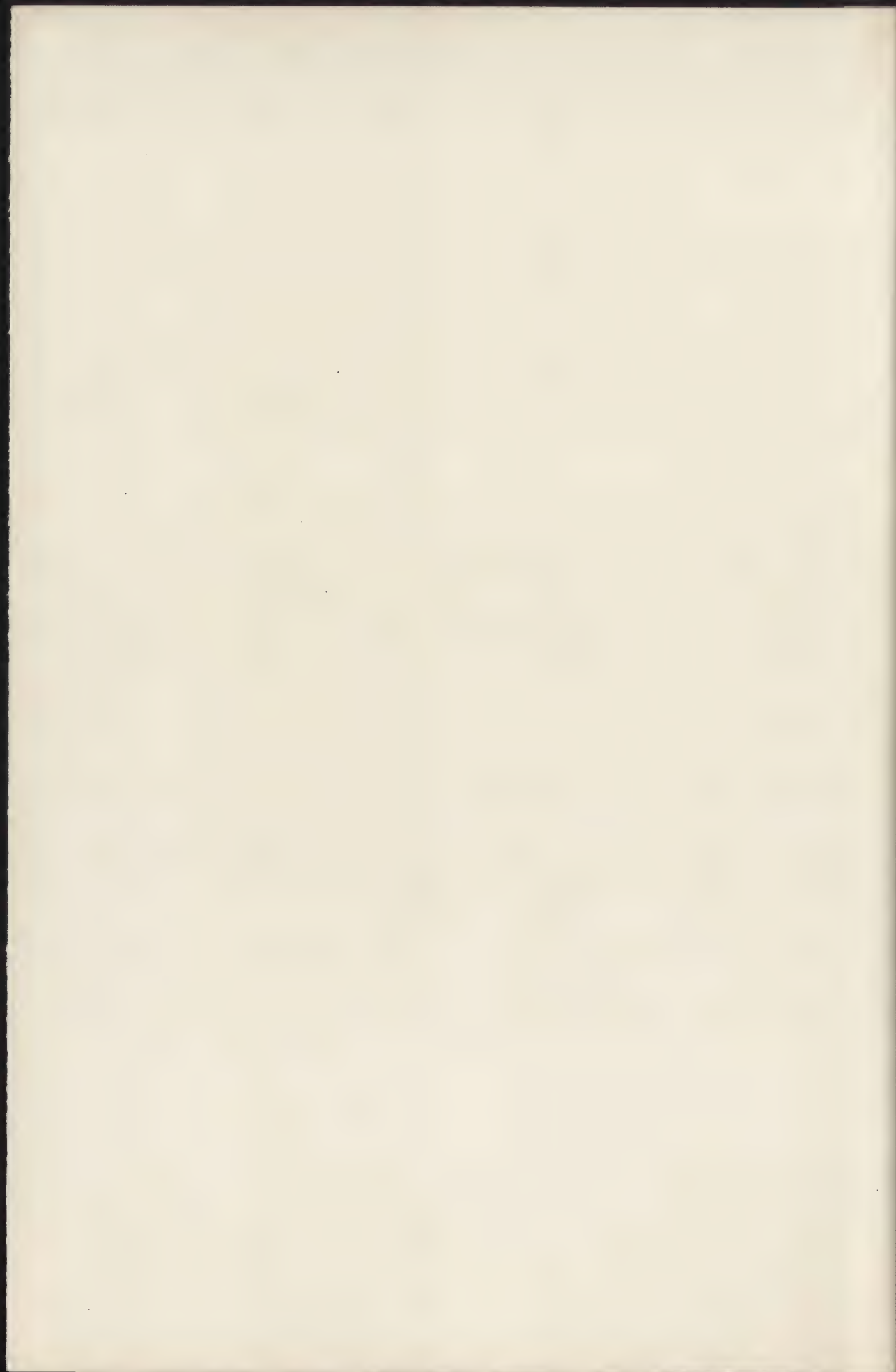
frescoes in the Hall of the Cambio, and of Fra Bartolommeo's Saints, but, side by side with these reminiscences of the past, we see the fruit of the new impressions that were daily crowding upon his mind. The marble

mask that we see carved upon one chair, the many-breasted Diana of the Ephesians which adorns another, are borrowed from antique statues, while the stately form and face of Philosophy, the calm severity of her air speak even more plainly of a classic model. Four oblong pictures, each of them connected with these allegorical figures, fill up the spaces between the medallions. Next to Theology we have the *Fall of Man*, next to Poetry the *Triumph of Apollo over Marsyas*, below Justice, is the *Judgment of Solomon*, and under Philosophy, *Natural Science*, popularly known by the name of *Fortune*, is represented in the form of a woman bending earnestly over a celestial globe. Raphael's version of these subjects is as original as it is dramatic. Apollo striking the chords of his lyre with victorious certainty, while the crown is held out to him by a listening shepherd, the distracted mother flinging herself forward to avert the stroke about to fall upon her innocent child, impress our imaginations with the same sense of power, and no earlier master has ever equalled the ideal beauty of this Adam and Eve, whom we see bending all too willing ear to the tempter, as he looks down from the tree of knowledge, in the shape of a lovely woman. But we must pass on to the larger frescoes which cover the walls, these great companies of saints and poets, of scholars and legislators in which Raphael has given utterance to the noblest aspirations of Italian culture.

On the right wall, under Theology, he painted his grand vision of the Church triumphant and militant, popularly known as the *Dispute of the Blessed Sacrament*. Above—the Father in Glory, the Son lifting His pierced hands, and the Dove descending out of heaven, in the sight of the great multitude which no man can number, patriarchs of old, apostles, and martyrs. Below—the altar set up on earth, and grouped around this mystic symbol of Christ's presence with His Church, the saints and confessors of all ages, Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome with his lion, and Augustine holding the *Civitate Dei* in his hand, Aquinas in his black and white Dominican garb, and the gentle Franciscan Doctor, Bonaventura, in cardinal's hat and robes. In that august company, painter and poets are not forgotten. On the left we see the face of Fra Angelico, the saintly friar of S. Marco. On the right, close to the great Pope Innocent III. is the poet of the *Divina Commedia*. And there, just behind Dante, Raphael has boldly placed another Florentine, that famous Prior



*Apollo and Marsyas, by Raphael. Vatican.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.*



of S. Marco, who had died as a heretic at the stake twelve short years before, the beloved teacher of his own friend Fra Bartolommeo, Girolame Savonarola. The animation of the scene offers a marked contrast with the calm serenity of the Church at rest. There a deep hush of worship reigns in the circles of the blessed, here the servants of God go to and fro and contend actively for the faith once delivered to the saints. Some are reading and writing, others are expounding their doctrines to the scholars at their feet, one fair boy goes forward, with outstretched hand and a look of ardent conviction on his face, to adore the host. And in the background, behind these groups full of life and movement, rise the unfinished walls of Bramante's new basilica of St. Peter.

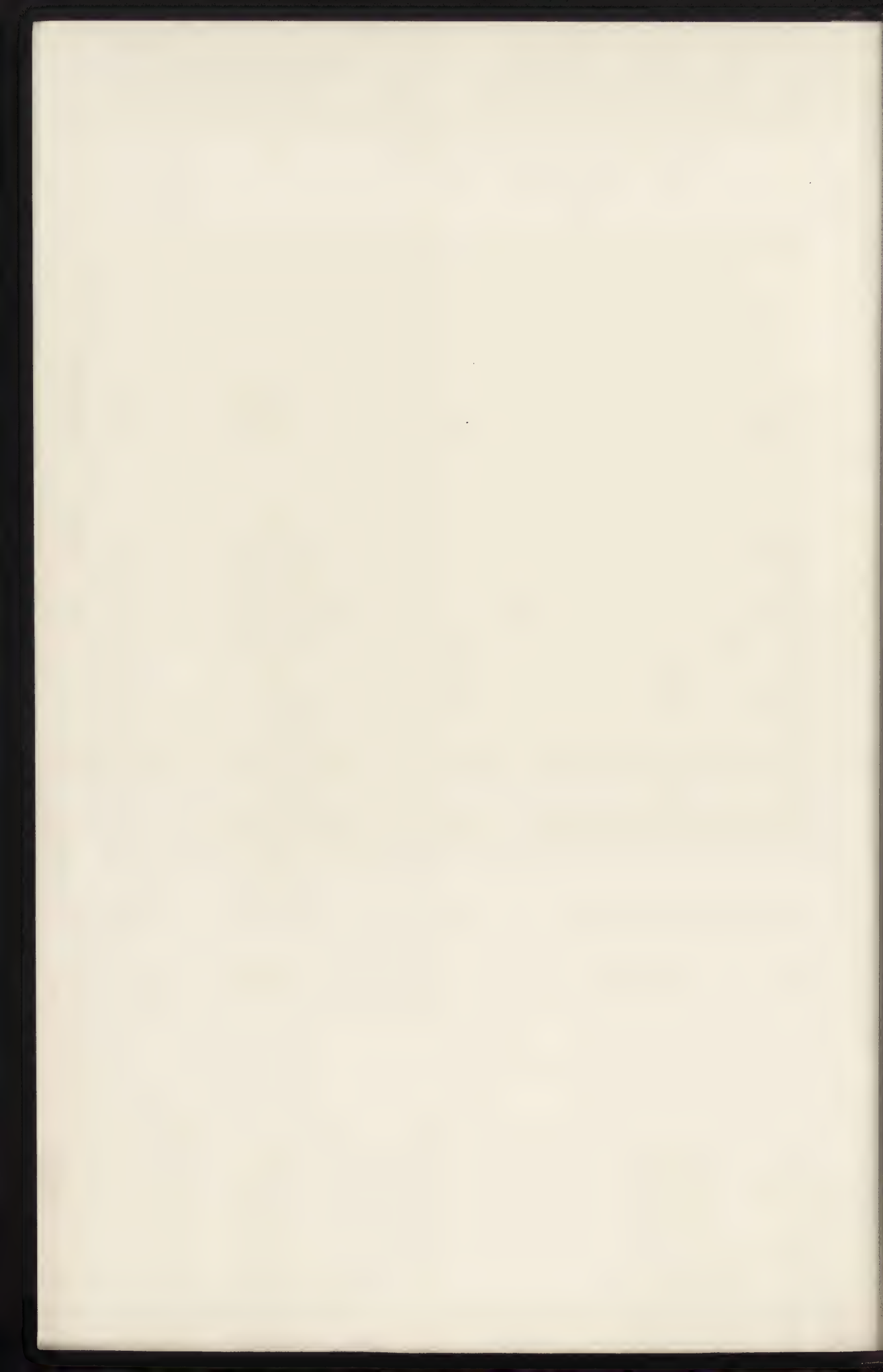
On the left wall of the Stanza, opposite the Disputa, Raphael painted his second great fresco, *The School of Athens*. On the one side the saints of the Church Catholic, on the other the heroes of Greek philosophy. Here, under a portico of the noblest Renaissance architecture, adorned with statues of Pallas and Apollo, and with bas-reliefs of classical myths, the great teachers of the old world are assembled. In the centre of the picture, at the top of the broad flight of steps leading to the palace of wisdom, are Plato and Aristotle, the representatives of the two rival schools of thought. Plato, the sage of all others to whom the Italian humanists turned as the fount of truth and knowledge, is pointing upwards to that heaven which is the home of the divine idea. Aristotle, the teacher of practical wisdom, stretches out his hand towards earth which is the abode of man. Around them are other philosophers, each with the traditional appearance and special attributes by which he was known to the men of the Renaissance. Close at Plato's side, Socrates, easily recognised by his ungainly form and rugged features, reasons with Alcibiades and Xenophon. On the steps below, Diogenes the Cynic, clothed in rags with his wooden bowl behind him, reclines apart from the rest, brooding sullenly over his tablets. Pythagoras, the teacher of arithmetic, forms the centre of a group on the left. On the right, Archimedes, surrounded by a group of admiring scholars, stoops down and draws geometrical figures on the ground. Ptolemy, wearing a crown on his head, according to the common tradition which confused the geographer with the kings of Egypt, and bearing a terrestrial globe in his hand, stands facing Zoroaster, who holds a celestial globe. Between these

chief figures, a host of others are moving to and fro, ascending and descending the steps. Some take part in the discussion, others are wrapt in silent thought. One young scholar walks briskly in, with a load of books under his arm, another leaves the hall with empty hands. A handsome youth turns away from the cynic Diogenes to seek for truer teaching, and on the opposite side, a father, holding a lovely child in his arms, listens to the words of Plotinus, the teacher whom Ficino describes as charming even women and babes by the sweetness of his discourse. Raphael has introduced several portraits of his contemporaries among the groups of the foreground. In the bald head and striking features of Archimedes, we recognise the likeness of his fellow-citizen Bramante, who supplied the architectural scheme of the composition. Zoroaster is said to represent the painter's friend Castiglione. Behind him we see Raphael's own portrait side by side with that of Sodoma, whom with delicate courtesy he here acknowledges as his associate in the decoration of the hall. The Urbino master himself looks older and more manly than in the Uffizi portrait; the long chestnut locks and refined features are the same, but a light moustache fringes his upper lip, and the head has gained in power and character. The tall and princely youth in the long white mantle edged with gold, is Francesco, Duke of Urbino, who visited Rome with his bride, Eleanora Gonzaga, early in 1510, and as the nephew of Julius II., and the friend and patron of Raphael, naturally occupies a prominent place. The curly-headed boy on his left, is his young brother-in-law, Federico Gonzaga, the son of Isabella d'Este, who had been sent to the Vatican at the age of ten, as a hostage in his father's stead. It was, we learn from a letter lately discovered in the Mantuan archives, at the express request of His Holiness that this spirited boy, the old Pope's pet and plaything, was introduced by Raphael in his fresco.

All of these fifty-two figures are brought together in a perfectly balanced and admirably arranged composition. Each is in itself a masterly study of modelling and expression. When we consider the stately unity of the whole design, the surpassing beauty of each separate group, and the significance and grace of every detail, we begin to realise the marvellous genius, the rare skill and industry which produced such great results. Each figure in that vast assembly, every look and gesture embodies some separate system of teaching, some new scientific truth. The



Adam and Eve, by Raphael. Vatican.
From a photograph, by D. Anderson, by permission.



history of philosophy, in fact, is here set forth, and for the first time in the records of art, abstract ideas are clad in forms of life and beauty. Besides the studies of separate figures which are to be seen in the Albertina and other collections, a complete cartoon for this fresco, drawn in black chalk with the greatest care and accuracy by the master himself, is preserved in the Ambrosian Library. Here the architectural back-

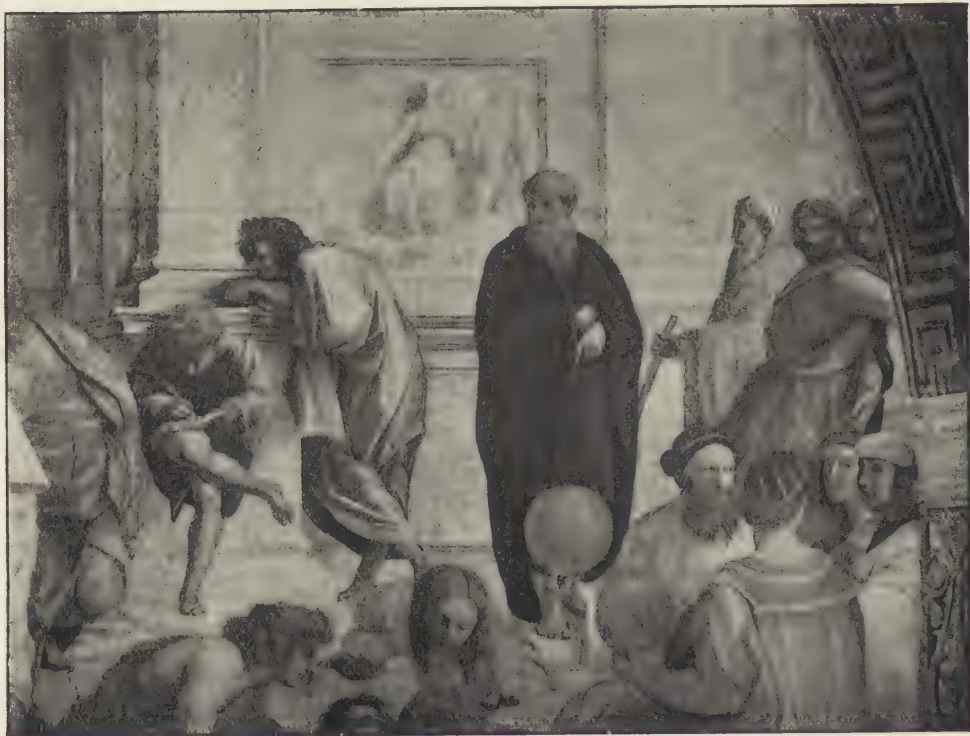


*Group from the "Dispute of the Blessed Sacrament," by Raphael. Vatican.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.*

ground has not yet been put in, and the sage leaning on his elbow in the foreground, as well as the portraits of Raphael and Sodoma, are absent.

The two remaining walls of the room were broken by large windows, but Raphael cleverly contrived to adapt his designs to the space at his disposal. Under the figure of Poetry, he painted Apollo and the Muses, resting in the laurel groves, by the waters of Castaly, as pure and sweet an

idyll as ever poet dreamt, in the days when the world was young. This bright Sun-God, chanting to the music of his violin, is generally said to have been taken from Lorenzo de' Medici's famous Greek gem, but it recalls still more vividly the *Apollo and Marsyas* painted by Timoteo Viti on one of Isabella d'Este's plates in the Correr museum. At his side, along



*Group from the "School of Athens," by Raphael. Vatican.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.*

the green slopes of Parnassus, the Muses wander hand-in-hand or rest in the laurel shade, Calliope in her white robe musing deeply over some impassioned theme, Erato bearing the seven-stringed lyre in her hands. On the summit of the mount, the poets of epic fame meet together. Homer lifting his sightless eyes to heaven recites his verses to the listening group, and Virgil, looking round at Dante, directs him towards Apollo. Below, the lyric poets of the past mingle with singers of the present day. Pindar and Horace converse with Ariosto and Tebaldeo,

with Boccaccio and Sannazzarro. Petrarch and Corinn join the group where Sappho rests at the foot of the hill.

Three parts of Raphael's scheme were now complete. He had repre-

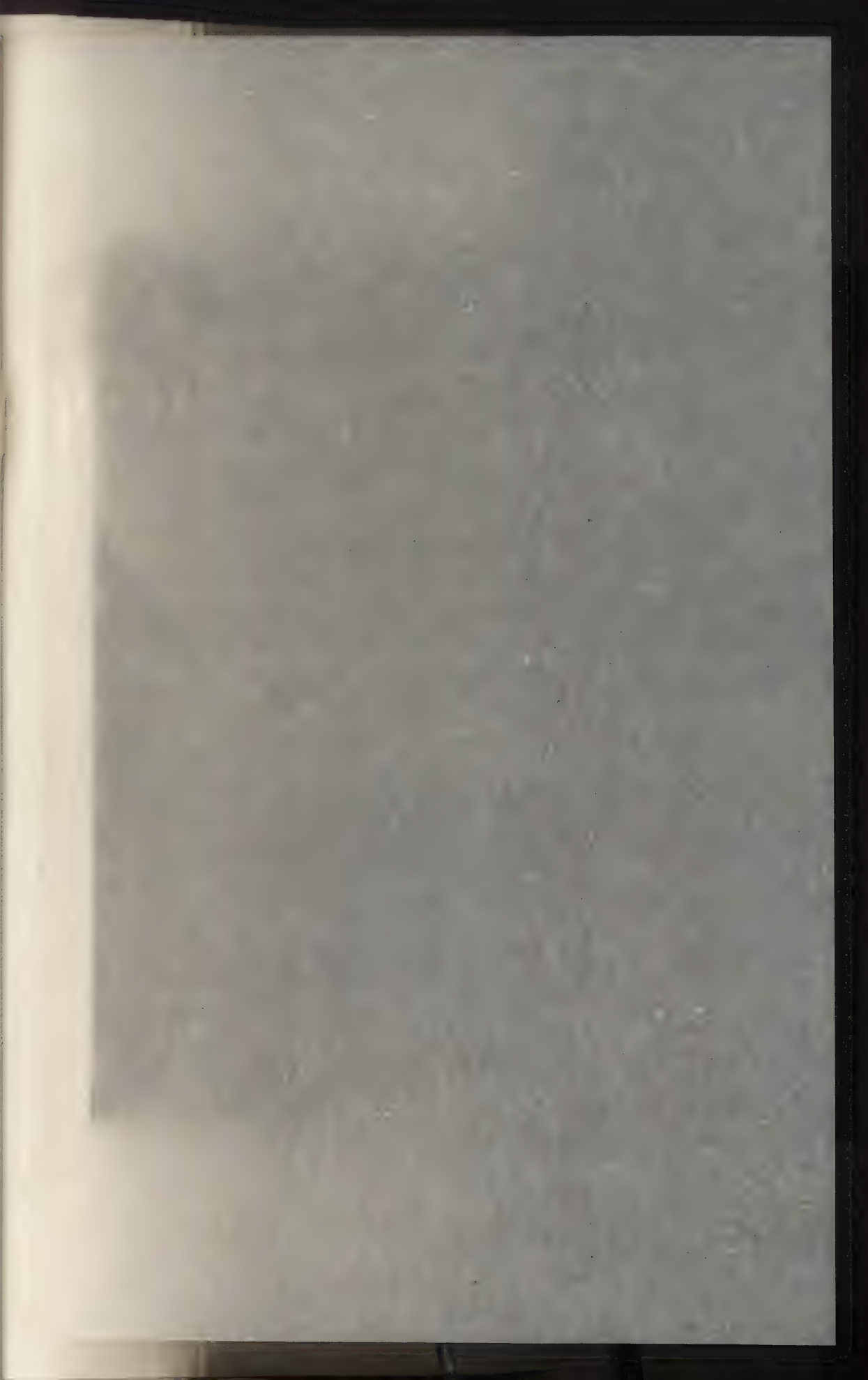


*Calliope, Study for the "Parnassus," by Raphael. Albertina.
From a photograph by Braun, Clément & Cie, by permission.*

sented the philosophers of old discussing the eternal problems of man and nature, the saints in heaven and earth joining in one great act of worship, and the poets of past and present ages listening to the music of Apollo's song. Now he had to set forth the majesty of the law which,

resting on the foundations of religion and reason, builds up the structure of human society. This time he chose a different method. In the arched space above the windows he painted three allegorical figures, Fortitude, with a lion at her side and an oak-branch at her hand, Prudence looking into a mirror that reveals her double face, and Temperance, with a bridle in her hand and a fair boy at her feet, pointing to heaven as the source of all grace and virtue. Underneath this group, on either side of the window, he represented Justinian in his robes of imperial purple, delivering the Pandects to his ministers, and Gregory XI. handing the Decretals to his secretary. In this aged pontiff we recognise the portrait of Julius II., who had lately returned from his unsuccessful campaign against Bologna, and had vowed never to trim his beard until the French were driven out of Italy. Among the members of his suite are three Cardinals, Giovanni and Giulio de' Medici and Alexander Farnese, all of whom lived to become Popes in their turn. These paintings, as an inscription on the Parnassus records, were finally completed towards the close of 1511, in the eighth year of Julius the Second's pontificate. At the same time the doors and woodwork of the hall were adorned with intarsias executed under Raphael's direction, by Fra Giovanni da Verona, and the richness and beauty of the whole excited general admiration.

In some ways, the frescoes of this first Stanza surpass all the later ones in point of interest. No doubt Raphael afterwards attained a far higher degree of technical perfection, his composition became more skilful, his knowledge of pictorial effect more complete. But in the later Stanze he had to paint subjects that were suggested by others, and was no longer free to follow his own invention. Here then we have the fullest expression of Raphael's mind. We see how thoroughly he had caught the spirit of his times and shared the hopes of the Italian humanists. His whole conception was inspired by a deep sense of the unity of human thought, and of the harmony that exists among the wisest and best of all ages. In his eyes there is no dividing line between the old world and the new. Plato and Augustine alike tell of the same City of God, and the poets and philosophers of Greece, and the saints and doctors of the Christian Church bear witness to the same Father of all. That dream, we know, was cherished by the finest intellects of the Renaissance, it was the common heritage of the scholars of Venice

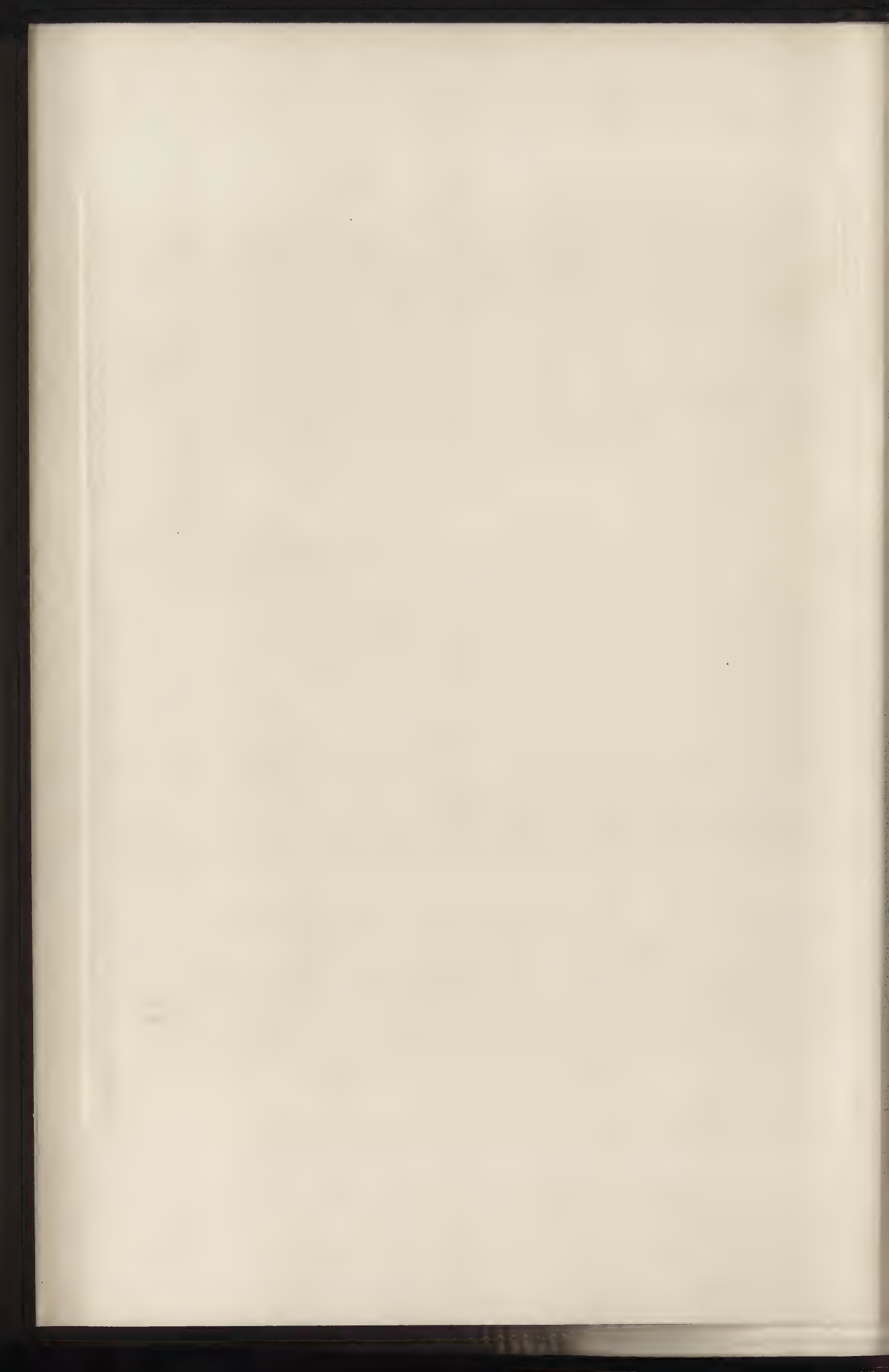




Udvardi, 1864, 17. 18.

Udvardi, 1864, 17. 18.

Parnassus.



and Florence, of Urbino and Rome, but its fairest and most enduring record is to be found in the frescoes of this Vatican chamber.

Raphael's reputation in Rome was now established. The Pope, delighted with the success of his experiment, lavished honours and caresses upon his favourite, and bade him paint the walls of the next room without delay. God protects His Church was the theme here assigned to him, and the subjects, there can be little doubt, were chosen by the Pope himself. In obedience to his commands, Raphael painted the *Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple of Jerusalem*, as described in the Second Book of Maccabees, in evident allusion to the deliverance of Italy from the French invaders. Here all is swift and instantaneous movement. The courts of the temple are thronged with terrified women and children, and the invaders plunder the Holy of Holies, while the high priest is on his knees before the altar. But already the hand of God is stretched out to save. Angelic messengers rush through the air to strike the spoilers down, and Heliodorus himself lies prostrate at the feet of a celestial rider in golden armour. In the midst of this scene of horror and violence, Pope Julius appears, a venerable and majestic figure, borne in his chair of state and attended by his cardinals. The splendid-looking bearer, walking first, is Marc Antonio Raimondi, the great engraver, who had already entered into close relations with Raphael, while the man behind him is probably Baldassare Peruzzi, whose decorations may still be seen on the ceiling of the room. On the vaulted space over the windows, Raphael next represents the miracle wrought at Bolsena in 1263, when a German priest, who doubted the truth of the Blessed Sacrament, saw blood flow from the host at the moment of consecration. The altar is raised on a flight of steps, and the priest bows his head in trembling awe at the wondrous mystery. The kneeling acolytes behind him and the crowd below, look up with eager faces, intent on the miracle that is happening before their eyes. At the other end of the altar, Pope Julius kneels, attended by cardinals and bishops, among whom we recognise Cardinal Riario, the President of the Sacred College. Below, a row of Swiss guards in their rich liveries look on with faces full of surprise and curiosity. Their heads are masterpieces of portraiture, and their rugged vigour offers a marked contrast with the refined features and subtle expression of the courtly prelates above.

By this time Raphael had become intimate with Sebastiano del Piombo, who was working at Agostino Chigi's villa on the Tiber, and had learnt the methods of Venetian artists from this new comrade. The influence of Sebastiano's example accounts for the rich colour, the depth of tone and vigorous modelling which meet us here, and surpass all that Raphael had hitherto accomplished. This splendid work has for-



*Group from the "Heliodorus." Vatican.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.*

tunately suffered less damage than the *Heliodorus*, and remains one of the finest examples of fresco-painting in existence. The *Mass of Bolsena* was finished in 1512, during the lifetime of Julius II. The fresco of *Attila* in the same room was probably already in contemplation when the old Pope fell ill. On the eve of All Saints he visited the Sistine and saw Michelangelo's ceiling, which was unveiled on that occasion, but after that he seldom left his bed. He still held audiences in his sick-

room, and kept himself alive by sheer force of will. But since the Stanze which Raphael was decorating, were close to the chamber where the Pope lay dying, the work was naturally interrupted for a time, and the painter had more leisure to attend to other commissions.

The great task upon which he had been engaged, since he came to Rome, had not absorbed all his faculties, and several important panels were executed during these four years. One of the earliest was the picture of the Child waking out of sleep and reaching out both arms to His mother, known as the *Madonna di Loreto*. This popular composition, which has been so often copied and engraved, was originally painted for Cardinal Riario, but, after hanging for two hundred years in S. Maria del Popolo, it was removed to the sanctuary of Loreto, and disappeared towards the end of the last century. Another version of the subject may be seen in the graceful little picture of *La Vierge au Diadème* in the Louvre, which still passes under Raphael's name, but is in reality the work of his favourite pupil, Giulio Romano. To the same hand the *Aldobrandini*, or Garvagh *Madonna*, in the National Gallery must also be ascribed. Like the charming little Madonna belonging to Miss Hertz, it was evidently an early work of Giulio's, painted under the influence and from the design of Raphael.

Three genuine Madonnas, however, all of them masterpieces in their way, belong to this period. The earliest of the three is the *Madonna di Casa d'Alba*, said to have been painted for Julius II., and presented by him to the Olivetan monks of Nocera. This picture afterwards passed into the Duke of Alva's collection at Madrid, and was sold in 1836 to the Czar of Russia. Both in shape and composition, this Virgin closely resembles the later Florentine Madonnas. Mary holds a book in her hand and is seated in a meadow full of violets and wild flowers, leaning against the trunk of a gnarled oak-tree that is throwing out new shoots, an evident allusion to the renewed prosperity of the Della Rovere family. The boy-Baptist kneeling on the grass with the cross in his hand and the Christ clinging to His mother's side, recall the children of the Cardellino, but the Virgin's antique costume and finely draped robes bear witness to the painter's Roman studies, and in the background the Tiber is seen winding through the distant Campagna. Two drawings for this Madonna, both of them showing the same marked likeness to the

St. Katherine of the National Gallery and the *Eve* of the Segnatura ceiling, are in the Lille Gallery. On the same sheet is a sketch for another round panel, the *Madonna della Sedia*. This most popular of all Ma-



*The Madonna di Casa d'Alba, by Raphael. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
From a photograph by Braun, Clément & Cie, by permission.*

donnas belonged to the Medici collection as early as 1589, and was probably painted for Cardinal Giovanni, about the same time as the frescoes of the Stanza di Eliodoro. The handsome dark-eyed mother,

wearing a striped handkerchief on her head and clasping the Child in her embrace, is taken from some Roman model, it may be the same beautiful woman whose face in after-years inspired the painter with the noblest of all his Madonnas. The colouring is as rich and glowing as that of the *Mass of Bolsena* itself, and the skill with which the group is fitted into the round has not impaired its simple charm.

The third picture was a grander and more elaborate work, the *Madonna di Foligno*, which Raphael executed for the papal chamberlain, Sigismond Conti, shortly before that prelate's death in 1512. A native of Foligno and a writer of sufficient note to be mentioned in Giovanni Santi's poem, the aged bishop wished to commemorate his deliverance from a shell that exploded near him during the bombardment of that city. At his bidding Raphael painted the great altarpiece which adorned the Franciscan church of Ara Cœli, for fifty years, and was then removed to Foligno. After being taken to Paris and there transferred to canvas, the picture was brought back to Italy and finally placed in the Vatican Gallery. The conception is as original as it is noble, and recalls the opened heavens and sublime vision of the *Disputa*. Our Lady appears, no longer throned under a canopy, as in the traditional Umbrian or Florentine type, but floating on the clouds of heaven, encircled by a golden halo of cherub-heads. On the flowery sward below, St. Francis, kneeling at the Baptist's feet, fixes his ardent gaze on the celestial vision, and on the other side, St. Jerome commends the donor to the Virgin's protection. Between these two groups, a boy-angel, whose lovely face reminds us of the winged children of the Segnatura ceiling, stands looking up at the Madonna and forms as it were a link between the saint on earth and the seraph host in heaven. "*Non si puo fare,*" writes Vasari, "*ne più grazioso ne meglio.*" In the background, on the heights above the Tiber, are the towers of Foligno. A shepherd is seen feeding his flock in a green mountain valley, while the fire-ball rushes through the air and the rainbow of mercy spans the clouds. The exquisite beauty of the Virgin's face, the playful charm of the joyous Child, above all, the magnificent portrait of the kneeling chamberlain, lifting his worn, wrinkled face to heaven, aroused the admiration of all the painter's contemporaries and have made this picture memorable among Raphael's Madonnas.

It is easy to understand how eager all who saw this living likeness of Sigismond Conti, were to have their portraits painted by Raphael's hand. Unfortunately, most of those which he executed in the reign of Julius II. have perished. That of his cultured friend, Bindo Altoviti, the young merchant of Siena, now in the Munich Pinacothek, is so badly damaged and has been so much disfigured by restoration, that some of the best critics doubt if the work is genuine.

That of Federigo Gonzaga, to which Castiglione alludes in a letter written after Raphael's death, has disappeared. The only portrait of the period in which the master's hand can be recognised with absolute certainty is that of the Pope himself, in the Tribune of the Uffizi. This portrait must have been painted towards the close of Julius II.'s life, soon after the fresco in which he figures as Gregory IX. The great old man is leaning back in his arm-chair, in purple cap and red robe, "looking so exactly like himself," writes Vasari, "that one trembles before him as if he were still alive." His head is bent downwards and his brows are marked with deep furrows, but every line of the emaciated face reveals the restless energy of his nature, the passionate force of his will. His days of toil and strife are nearly over, his life draws rapidly to its close, and he sits there like some old lion brooding over his past conflicts, but ready, if need be, to turn and rend the foe. The cartoon for this wonderful portrait is in the Corsini palace at Florence, and a replica, scarcely to be distinguished from the original, is preserved in the Pitti gallery.

Among other works which bear witness to the painter's ceaseless industry and to the marvellous versatility of his genius, are the numerous designs which he executed at this period, for Marc Antonio Raimondi. The Bolognese engraver, after being trained in the school of Francia and practising his art at Venice and Florence, came to Rome in 1510 and practically entered Raphael's service. A close friendship sprang up between the two men, and the fine series of prints that appeared under their joint signature, were the result of that enthusiastic admiration of antique art and innate sense of beauty which drew them together. Among the firstfruits of their partnership were the noble engraving of *Lucrezia Romana* and the well-known *Massacre of the Innocents*. Some of Raphael's drawings for the last-named plate may be seen in the Albertina, but as a



Study for the Madonna di Casa d'Alba. Lille.

rule he probably only supplied the original motive of the design and left the rest to the engraver's imagination. The pen drawing of Venus looking into a mirror, attended by a satyr and group of cupids, and



The Toilet of Venus; drawing by Raphael. Malcolm Collection.

nympha dropping flowers into a basket, now in the Malcolm collection, may well have been intended for Marc Antonio's use. This study, which Raphael himself has rarely equalled in grace of line and classical feeling,

and was probably a recollection of some antique bas-relief, such as the painter was constantly noting down and afterwards employing in his compositions. The sale of Marc Antonio's engravings was carried on, Vasari tells us, under the management of one of Raphael's assistants, Baverio Carrocci of Parma, and soon became a lucrative and extensive business. Other artists followed in Raimondi's steps and a school of engravers sprang up, who were solely employed in reproducing the designs of Raphael. The wide circulation which their prints enjoyed, naturally made his name famous, and contributed not a little to the supremacy which his style acquired in all parts of Italy.

But while Raphael was daily reaping new laurels, his chief patron, the Pope, who had brought him to Rome, lay on his death-bed. On the 13th of January, 1513, a Mantuan courtier informed Isabella d'Este that in obedience to her commands, Messer Raffaello da Urbino had at length begun a charcoal drawing of her son, Signor Federico, in the jewelled cap and gold brocade suit which he wore on the day that he rode, at the Pope's side, to the opening of the Lateran Council. On the 15th of January, he assured the anxious mother that the portrait of the young prince was making progress. But four days later, Messer Raffaello returned Federico's cap and mantle, begging Her Excellency to pardon him, since in the present state of affairs he had not the courage to go on with her son's portrait. The Pope's condition had been pronounced desperate, and all was in confusion at the Vatican. The next day Julius II. breathed his last, amidst the lamentations of the Roman people who honoured his just rule and admired his imposing personality. He had reigned with a strong hand and made the Papacy a power in Europe, but in the eyes of posterity he will chiefly be remembered as the Pope who founded St. Peter's and called Michelangelo and Raphael to Rome.

PART II

RAPHAEL AT THE COURT OF LEO X.

1513—1520

Election of Leo X.—Raphael paints the frescoes of the Attila and St. Peter in the Stanza di Eliodoro—Is appointed architect of St. Peter's after Bramante's death—Letters to Simone Ciarla and to Castiglione—The Galatea—Sibyls of S. Maria della Pace—Chigi chapel—Raphael's architectural works—He is appointed inspector of antiquities by Leo X.—Paints the frescoes of the Stanza dell' Incendio—Portraits of Bibbiena, Castiglione, &c.—La Donna Velata—St. Cecilia—The Madonna di San Sisto—The Cartoons—Works executed by his scholars—Frescoes of the Farnesina—The Loggie—Raphael buys a house in the Borgo Nuovo—Rivalry of Sebastiano del Piombo—Correspondence of the Duke of Ferrara's agents—The Transfiguration—Death of Raphael—His burial in the Pantheon.

THE conclave met on the 4th of March, a fortnight after the death of Julius II. A week later, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici was elected Pope, and took the name of Leo X. He had been made a cardinal when still a boy, and now at the age of thirty-seven became the head of the Church. But the choice was a popular one. The new Pope was a genial and kind-hearted man, fond of ease and luxury, but cultivated and liberal-minded. "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us," he said to his brother Giuliano on the day of his election, and the remark was characteristic both of the man and of his tastes. A series of brilliant festivities inaugurated the new reign of peace and splendour. The friends of learning rejoiced to see a son of the magnificent Lorenzo in the chair of St. Peter and men of letters flocked to Rome. "Once Venus reigned, then Mars, now Pallas," was the motto inscribed by the wealthy Sienese banker, Agostino Chigi, on the triumphal arch which he erected in honour of Leo the Tenth's coronation.

Raphael soon found that he had lost nothing by the death of his former patron. His own friends were raised to high office in the new Pope's household. Bibbiena was made a cardinal, Pietre Bembo became papal secretary. Giuliano de' Medici had known him in the old Urbino days, and did not forget him now. From the first, Leo X. honoured Raphael with marks of especial favour. He had known Michelangelo from his boyhood, and admired his mighty genius, but as he told Sebastian del Piombo, the great sculptor was too terrible a man for him, and the gentle-souled painter of Urbino was far more to his taste. He employed Buonarroti to build the façade of S. Lorenzo, and wasted whole years of his life in quarrying marbles at Carrara, but he kept Raphael at his side and bade him proceed at once with the frescoes of the second Stanza. Attila's Retreat was the subject chosen by Julius II. for the third fresco of the Stanza di Eliodoro, and a copy of the design which Raphael had already prepared may still be seen in the Louvre. This was now altered to suit the taste of the reigning pontiff, who was introduced as St. Leo, arresting the march of the barbarian invader. On the right, Attila and his Huns are seen, starting back in terror at the apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul, with drawn swords, in the heavens. On the left, the Pope enters, wearing the triple tiara, and mounted on the white horse which he had ridden at Ravenna, and raising his hand, tells the conqueror to come no further. The massive features of Leo X. are rendered with admirable truth, and the Cardinals who attend him, clad in contemporary costume, are evidently portraits of well-known personages at the papal court. Attila's terror-stricken gesture, the sudden confusion of his cavalry and the swift rush of the avenging saints are all realised in the most vivid and dramatic manner. The action of each separate figure is made to harmonise with the whole, and every detail adds to the general effect. The flying banners of the moving host and the flames of the burning houses heighten the solemn impression, and beyond the ancient monuments of imperial Rome, the Coliseum and aqueducts are seen rising out of a woodland landscape, bounded by the mountains of the Campagna.

Last of all, on the wall opposite to the *Mass of Bolsena*, Raphael painted the *Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison*, in significant allusion to the memorable escape of Leo X. from the hands of his French captors, after the battle of Ravenna. In the central space above the windows, the

delivering angel is seen through the prison bars, stooping down to wake St. Peter, who lies bound between two soldiers. On the right, the same bright form leads the apostle by the hand, down the steps, and past the sleeping guards, while on the left a soldier, bearing a lighted torch, rushes up the opposite flight of stairs to give the alarm. The most striking thing in this picture is the fine effect produced by the three separate



Group from the "Attila," by Raphael. Vatican.

lights, the angel whose radiance illumines the darkness of the prison, the flaming torch in the soldier's hand and the crescent moon which hangs over the sleeping city. The way in which these different lights are reflected in the steel armour of the guards, roused the admiration of Raphael's contemporaries to the highest pitch, and made Vasari declare this fresco to be the master's most wonderful work.

The theme of divine intervention which Raphael had illustrated on the walls of this room, was repeated in the four Old Testament

subjects from the story of Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, which adorn the ceiling. All four are now irreparably ruined, but as far as it is possible to judge in their present state, they were chiefly the work of Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. As in the case of the former room, the panelling was enriched with intarsias by Fra Giovanni di Verona, and the decoration completed, some years later, by the addition of Caryatides and other allegorical figures painted in chiaroscuro by Raphael's younger pupil, Perino del Vaga.

Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza di Eliodoro were finished in August, 1514, as recorded on a tablet placed below the *Deliverance of St. Peter*. The date marks an important stage in the painter's development. He had made the secrets of Venetian colouring his own, and had reached a degree of technical perfection beyond all to which he had hitherto attained. No living master, not Michelangelo himself, could surpass him in dramatic vigour, in the power of giving life and reality to a narrative, and of combining unity of composition with variety of individual action. Henceforth no heights were beyond his reach. He stood supreme and without a rival in the field of pictorial art. Unfortunately just at this moment, when powers of brain and hand alike were ripe, his activities were diverted into new channels, and his time and strength frittered away in a multitude of labours that were beyond the strength of any one man.

Bramante, whose health had long been failing, died on the 11th of March, 1514, recommending Raphael to the Pope as his successor with his last breath. Of late years, the two masters had been brought into intimate relations, and Raphael seems to have acted as Bramante's assistant, in designing several of the palaces and churches in the new streets of the Vatican quarter. He had already, it is evident, devoted considerable attention to the study of architecture, and the papal bull which confirmed his appointment expressly says that he is held excellent, not only as a painter but also as a builder. Leo X. lost no time in acting upon Bramante's suggestion, and on the 1st of April, 1514, Raphael was appointed chief architect of St. Peter's, at a yearly salary of 300 ducats. Giuliano di San Gallo and Fra Giocondo of Verona, the architect of the Pont-Neuf in Paris, were given him as assistants, but since both were advanced in years and died within a short time, they

proved of little use. The natural pride which the young painter felt in this high office and the ardour with which he entered on his new duties, are pleasantly shown in two letters which he addressed, during the summer of 1514 to his uncle, Simone Ciarla, and his friend Castiglione. The old uncle at Urbino was growing restless at his nephew's prolonged absence, and had written, urging him to return and take a wife and settle down in



*The Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison, by Raphael. Vatican.
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.*

his old home. Raphael, in his reply, gently soothed down the old man's anxiety, and with delightful simplicity explained the reasons which kept him in Rome and made him prefer this city to Urbino. As for marriage, he would have been well content to wait, but since his friend Bibbiena, the newly-made Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico, wished him to marry a relative of his own he had agreed to this proposal and could not break his word. The whole letter, in its bright and happy tone, is eminently

characteristic of Raphael's sweet and sunny nature. It was a proud moment in his life. At thirty-one years of age, he had reached a position of the highest honour, and was not only painter to His Holiness, but architect of St. Peter's, "the grandest church in the world." As yet he did not feel the burden of excessive work, which was ere long to bring his life to a premature end. A future of splendid activity and unclouded happiness opened before him, and with high hopes and light heart he wrote this affectionate letter to his old uncle at Urbino :—

"DEAREST IN THE PLACE OF A FATHER,—I have received your letter, which is very dear to me as a proof that you are not displeased. It would indeed be foolish to vex yourself at my silence, if you think how tiresome it is to write when one has nothing to say. Now that the matter is of importance, I answer at once and will tell you all that I have to say upon the subject. First of all, as to taking a wife, I must tell you with regard to her whom you wished to give me, that I am perfectly content, and thank God continually that I neither married her nor any one else, and in this I was wiser than you. I am sure you will agree with me, that if I had done as you wished, I should not be where I now am, since at the present time, I have property in Rome worth 3,000 gold ducats, and an income of fifty gold crowns, His Holiness having given me a salary of 300 ducats, for superintending the works of St. Peter's, which I shall enjoy as long as I live. And I am sure to earn more from other sources, and am paid whatever I like to ask for my work. And I have begun to paint another room for His Holiness, which will bring me 1,200 gold ducats, so that you see, my dearest uncle, I do honour to you, to my whole family, and to my country. But none the less, I always keep the thought of you in my heart, and when I hear your name, feel as if I heard that of a father. And do not complain of me if I do not write, for I have far more reason to complain of *you*, who sit, pen in hand, all day and yet allow six months to go by, between your letters. But for all that I am not as angry with you as you seem to be with me. I have wandered from the subject of marriage, but to return to it, you must know that Santa-Maria-in-Portico wishes to give me a relative of his own, and that with your leave and that of my uncle the priest, I have promised to do what His Reverence desires. I cannot break my word, for

we are on the point of settling this matter, and I shall soon be able to tell you more. Have patience, since this affair promises so well, and if it falls through, I will do as you wish, and tell Francesco Buffa that if he has proposals to make, I have plenty of others on my own account, and can find a fair maiden in Rome, of most excellent reputation, whose friends are ready to give me 3,000 gold crowns as her dowry, and that in house-property in Rome, where 100 ducats are certainly worth more than 200 in Urbino. As for remaining in Rome, I cannot live anywhere else for some time to come, on account of the work of St. Peter's, now that I am in Bramante's place. But what city in the world can compare with Rome? what task is nobler than the building of St. Peter's, the first temple and the grandest structure in the world? The cost will exceed a million in gold, and the Pope has ordered 60,000 ducats, a year, to be spent on the work and can think of nothing else. He has given me as colleague a very learned old friar, over eighty years of age, who cannot live long, but is a man of marvellous wisdom, so that I may learn whatever fine secrets in architecture he has to teach, and become perfect in this art. His name is Fra Giocondo, and every day the Pope sends for us and discusses the plans of the building, for some time. I hope you will go and see the Duke and Duchess and tell them this, for I know they will be glad to hear that one of their servants is doing them honour, and commend me to their Highnesses, as I commend myself ever to you, and to all my friends and relatives, most of all to Ridolfo, who bears me so true an affection.

"Your RAFAEL, painter in Rome."

"On the 1st of July, 1514."

This letter was duly shown to the Duke and Duchess, as Raphael desired, for a hundred years later, it was found among the papers of the last Duke of Urbino, and brought to Rome, where it was seen by Richardson, early in the last century. The other letter is written in a more polished style, and in a courtly language befitting the accomplished gentleman to whom it was addressed. It is of especial interest, as giving us a glimpse into the mind of Raphael, and revealing the aims and aspirations of his artist-soul.

"MY LORD COUNT,—I have made several designs of the subject which you suggested, and all who have seen them seem to be well satisfied, unless they are mere flatterers. But, I confess, I am not satisfied myself, because I fear they will not satisfy you. I send them and hope that you will choose any one which is to your taste. Our Lord, the Pope, has been pleased to lay a heavy burden on my shoulders, that is to say, the direction of the works of St. Peter's. I hope I shall not sink under the load, especially since the model which I have made, pleases His Holiness, and has been commended by many learned men. But my thoughts soar higher. I long to find out more about the fine forms of ancient monuments, and I know not if my dreams may not end as the flight of Icarus! Vitruvius has enlightened me on many points, but has not shown me all that I want to know. As for the *Galatea*, I should count myself a great master if half the kind things which your Lordship writes were true, but your words show your love for me, and I tell you that, if I am to paint a beautiful woman, I must see several, and have you at my side to choose the fairest. But meanwhile, since good judges and fair women are both of them rare, I make use of a certain ideal that is in my mind. If it has any artistic excellence I know not, but I try hard to reach it. Let me have your commands. From Rome."

This letter, which was first published at Venice in 1554, must have been written late in the summer of 1514, when Raphael had finished the wooden model of St. Peter's, which received the Pope's approval, that August. At Leo the Tenth's suggestion, he altered Bramante's original design from a Greek to a Latin cross, and prepared plans of the building on a more extensive scale than ever. The nave was to be longer, the cupola larger, new arcades and side-chapels, and a spacious portico were to be added. But these vast schemes were never carried out. Bramante's choir and transepts, built as they had been with the utmost haste to satisfy the impatience of Julius II., were found to be insecure, and the new architect's time was spent in strengthening the foundations and supporting the pillars which his predecessor had raised. Want of funds delayed the progress of the work, and Raphael died before any attempt had been made to carry out his proposals. After his death, the plans were again altered, and few, if any traces of his work are to be seen in the present church.

The letter to Castiglione fixes the date of one of Raphael's finest works, the fresco of Galatea which he painted for his wealthy friend Agostino Chigi in a hall of his villa in the Lungara. As early as 1510, he had designed two superb bronze dishes for the Siena banker, and according to Vasari, supplied plans for the stables where Leo X. was entertained in so royal a fashion by his splendid host. Sebastian del Piombo had already painted a fresco of Polyphemus, the love-sick Cyclops, piping under the plane trees on the Sicilian shore, and in the same hall Raphael now represented the milk-white Galatea driving her team of dolphins on the waves. The composition was evidently inspired by Poliziano's verses, and many of the details, the shell chariot of Galatea, the trumpet-blowing Tritons riding their sea-horses, and the Loves shooting arrows from the sky, were directly borrowed from antique bas-reliefs. But more than this, he has, for once in his life, caught a breath of the true Greek spirit. This laughing nymph, with her fair locks and purple drapery floating on the breeze, these merry Cupids sporting on the green waves, are instinct with all the careless gladness, the joy of actual living that was the charm of the old world. Just as the *Venus* of Botticelli helps us to realise how the Florentines of the earlier Renaissance looked upon the myths of Hellas, so Raphael's *Galatea* represents the classical world as it appeared in the eyes of the humanists of Leo the Tenth's age. But even here the master was compelled to leave a great part of the work to his assistants. The figure of Galatea herself was painted entirely by his own hand, but in the coarser forms and muscular limbs of the Tritons we recognise the work of Giulio Romano and his comrades. These assistants had a still large share in the next fresco which Raphael painted for Agostino Chigi, the much-injured Sibyls of Santa-Maria-della-Pace. Here the four Sibyls and their attendant genii are represented in a single group, above the archway leading to the Chigi chapel. On the left, the youthful nymph of Cumæa lifts her impassioned gaze to heaven and her Persic sister writes her message on a tablet at her side. On the right, the Phrygian Virgin turns to read the mystic writing of a scroll held up before her, and the aged and wrinkled Sibyl of Tibur looks out sadly into the dark future. Vasari and many critics after him have described these noble figures as directly borrowed from the Sistina frescoes. But although the motive is the same, these Sibyls and genii have little in

common with the majestic creations of Michelangelo. Their beauty is of a far more human type, their graceful forms and draperies are modelled in the true Raphaellesque manner. The master of Urbino doubtless learnt many lessons from his mighty rival, and often thanked God that he lived in Michelangelo's days, but, after his wont, he assimilated the qualities which attracted him in his own fashion and added the strength and robustness of the Tuscan to his own grace and sweetness. Another somewhat similar fresco, of the prophet Isaiah, was painted about this time by Raphael on a pillar in the church of S. Agostino, for the Luxembourg prelate Görlitz, the *Corycius senex* of the Roman humanists, whom he often entertained in his gardens on the Quirinal. But this figure was entirely re-painted by Daniele da Volterra, and it is hard to discover even a trace of Raphael's work in the fresco. For Agostino Chigi he also designed a sepulchral chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, as well as the mosaic decorations of the interior, that were executed by Venetian workers in 1516. Here he went back to Dante's *Convito* for his inspiration. In the summit of the cupola, he represented the Eternal in the glory of heaven, and, at His feet, seven angels setting the planets in motion at His bidding. *Fiant luminaria in firmamenti cæli*. Several drawings of these subjects are to be seen at Lille and Oxford, among others a spirited sketch of the *Angel of Jupiter*, with both arms high above his head, pointing up to God. The statue of Jonas in the same chapel was executed by the sculptor Lorenzetto from Raphael's design, but can hardly have been modelled, as Passavant thinks, by the great master's own hands. On one occasion, however, he seems to have made an attempt in this direction. Sebastian del Piombo's friend, the saddler Lionardo Borgherini, writing from Rome in November, 1516, tells Michelangelo to look to his laurels, since Raphael of Urbino has actually modelled a child in clay for the sculptor Pietro d'Ancona. And, three years after the painter's death, Castiglione writes to inquire if Giulio Romano still possesses the marble boy modelled by Raphael, and offers to give him whatever sum he chooses to name for the precious work. There was, indeed, hardly a single branch of art to which this most versatile of masters did not turn his attention. At this period architectural works certainly occupied a considerable part of his time. Following

in Bramante's steps, he adopted the purely classical style, and, as he told Castiglione, studied ancient monuments with Vitruvius for his guide. The Italian version of the Latin writer made by the learned old humanist, Fabio Calvo of Ravenna, "at the prayer and in the house of Raffaele di Urbino," with marginal notes in the painter's own handwriting, may still be seen in the Munich library. But life was too short for all that he meant to do, and he died before he was able to put his theories into practice. Unfortunately, the little which he was able to accomplish in this direction has for the most part perished. The fine palace in the Borgo Nuovo, which he built for his friend the Pope's Chamberlain, Brancantonio dell' Aquila, was pulled down in the last century to make room for the colonnade of St. Peter's. His plans for the façade of S. Lorenzo have been lost, and even his own house, which had been built by Bramante, but embellished by himself, has been altered out of all recognition. In November, 1515, he was summoned to Florence by Leo X., to give his advice as to the completion of S. Lorenzo, but eventually Michelangelo's design was accepted, and Raphael returned to Rome. Vasari's account of this brief visit to his old haunts, is borne out by a deed recording the purchase of a house in the Via Sistina, which was signed in his absence by his assistant, Baverio Carrocci, *Raffaello di Urbino licet absente*. It was probably on this occasion that he supplied Bishop Pandolfini with plans for his new palace in the Via San-Gallo. The building was only erected after his death, but is still one of the finest Renaissance palaces in Florence.

On the 27th of August, 1515, Raphael was appointed Inspector of antiquities in Rome, and a papal bull was issued, empowering him to purchase any ancient marbles in the city and surrounding country, and forbidding the destruction of any inscribed stones without his leave. The painter gladly availed himself of the facilities thus afforded him to study the classical remains that were being daily discovered, and, as far as possible, to arrest the wholesale destruction of ancient monuments which he laments in his letter to Leo X. Vasari tells us how when the Baths of Titus were first excavated, Raphael and his assistant Giovanni da Udine hastened to the spot, and were amazed at the beauty of the painted *grotteschi* then brought to light. And both Castiglione and Bembo, we know, frequently accompanied the painter on his explorations

in the ruins of old Rome. But neither his architectural studies, nor the ardour with which he devoted himself to archæological pursuits, were allowed to interfere with the progress of the Vatican frescoes. The Stanza di Eliodoro was no sooner completed, than the Pope desired him to adorn the next room with scenes from the pontificates, of the third and fourth Leo. The work, we learn from the artist's letter to his uncle was begun in June, 1514, but only completed in the summer of 1517. Times had changed since the days when the expulsion of the French from Italy had been the theme of Raphael's art, and it was the Pope's new ally, Francis I. who now figured as Charlemagne receiving his crown from the Head of the Church. On the opposite wall, Leo III. was represented, clearing himself by oath from the false charges brought against him, in the presence of Charlemagne. The choir of St. Peter's is the scene of both incidents, and the cardinals of Leo the Tenth's court appear in both frescoes, ranged before the high altar in their robes of state. "The Stanze of His Holiness's palace which Raphael has painted," wrote Bembo to Cardinal Bibbiena, "are beautiful, not only by reason of his rare and excellent art, but because of the large number of prelates which he has introduced." But although the master himself may have painted a few of the portraits, the chief part of these frescoes, as Vasari states, was executed by his pupils, working under his superintendence. Giulio Romano's hand is evident in the third fresco, where the rout of the Saracens in the battle of Ostia is vigorously set forth, and Leo X. and his Cardinals, Giulio de' Medici and Bibbiena, stand on the sea-shore, receiving the submission of the captives. But by far the finest of the series is the famous composition which gives its name to the room, the *Incendio del Borgo*. Here Leo IV., the same Pope who defeated the Saracens at Ostia, is seen on the balcony of the Vatican, miraculously arresting a fire which had broken out in the Borgo, by making the sign of the cross. The steps of the old basilica of St. Peter's are crowded with fugitives, and in the foreground the terrified inhabitants are escaping from their houses. One old man is borne, like Anchises, on the shoulders of his stalwart son, and a mother drops her child from an open window into his father's arms. On the right, men and women pour jars of water on the flames, and in the centre, a group of frightened mothers and children stretch out their



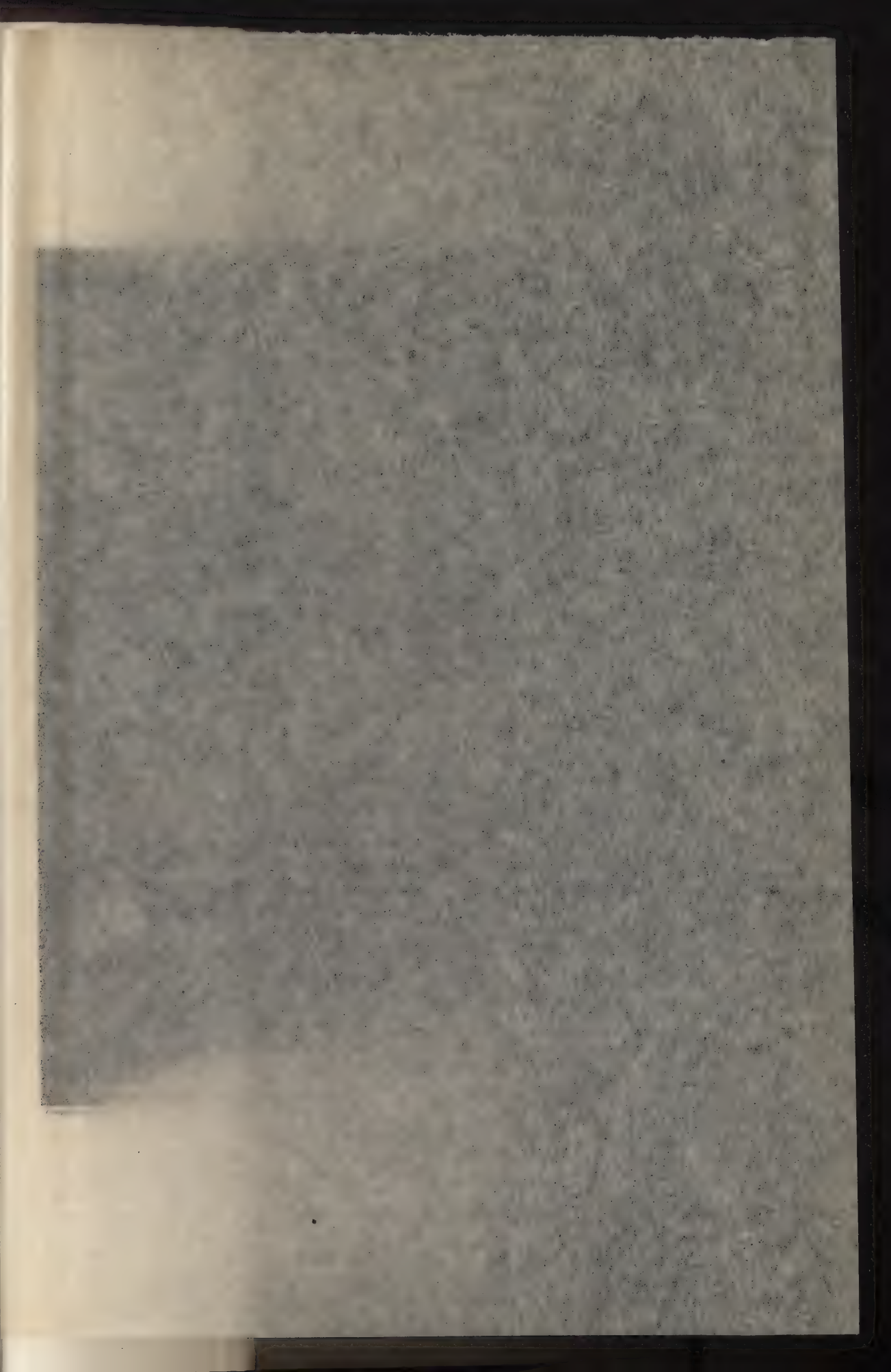
Study, by Raphael. Formerly in the Reveley Collection.

arms to implore the help of the Holy Father. Here Raphael makes a new departure, and leaving the historical and allegorical style in which he excelled, gives us a subject from the life of the people, such a scene as might be witnessed any day in the streets of Rome. And in this new field he shows himself once more a master of his art and a designer of the highest order. But, magnificent as the composition is, the execution, it must be owned, is of a distinctly inferior kind. We are still in the presence of Raphael's creative faculty, we own the vivifying, controlling force of his imagination, but we feel that another hand has carried out the conception. Some of the separate groups are remarkably fine, but in the exaggerated muscles and violent foreshortening of others we see the influence which Michelangelo was already exerting upon Raphael's scholars. The master himself, distracted as he was by an infinite variety of labours, only sketched out the composition and left the execution of the cartoons to his assistants. For instance, the well-known Uffizi drawing of the water-carrier, with her finely-moulded form and flying draperies, is evidently Giulio Romano's work, while Raphael's original design, a slight sketch in black and white chalk on blue paper, is in the Morelli Collection at Bergamo. Even the study of nude figures in the Albertina, which is said to have been sent by Raphael to Albert Dürer, was drawn by Giulio Romano. On the other hand, most of the pen-and-ink drawings of wrestling figures that have been preserved in public and private collections are Raphael's own work, and were probably studies for the battle of Ostia or the fresco of the victory of the Milvian Bridge, which his scholars painted, after his death, in the Hall of Constantine. Many of these groups are of great interest, revealing as they do the ease and mastery of his pencil, and the skill with which he could depict all the varying shades of passion and hatred, of triumph and despair. To the same period we may ascribe the beautiful drawing of figures carrying vases, formerly in the Reveley Collection, a design which, for exquisite grace and lightness of touch, ranks among the finest examples of Raphael's mature work.

While the frescoes of the Stanza dell' Incendio were still in course of execution, Raphael was called upon to finish the building of the Loggie, and to decorate a neighbouring corridor, which, however, fell in during the reign of Clement VII. The chiaroscuro figures of Apostles with

which he and his scholars at the same time adorned the anteroom of the Stanze, known as the Sala dei Palafrenieri, were entirely re-painted in the last century. Still more to be deplored is the destruction or concealment of the paintings of *Venus* and *Cupid*, with which he decorated the bath-room of Cardinal Bibbiena, in the upper story of the Vatican. These wonderful little pictures were painted on a black and red ground, in the style of antique gems, and are described as marvels of elegance and delicacy. Unfortunately the room which they adorn has long been closed to the public, and the dainty loves and fantastic devices of birds and flowers which Raphael and his friend designed with so much thought and care are hidden under a wooden wainscoting.

During these early years of Leo the Tenth's reign, Raphael painted the portraits of most of the chief personages at his court. One of the first in point of date, as well as one of the finest and best preserved, is that of Cardinal Bibbiena in the Madrid gallery. The marked difference that exists between this picture and the other portrait of Bibbiena in the Pitti, which has always passed as Raphael's work, has led more than one critic to reject the old tradition, and declare the Madrid portrait to be the likeness of some other prelate. M. Mûntz, for instance, has suggested that Alidosi, the favourite of Julius II., may be the Cardinal here represented. But when Raphael came to Rome, Alidosi was no longer young, and he died at Ravenna, stabbed by the Duke of Urbino, some years before this picture was painted. If we compare the two portraits carefully, we shall see that the features are in reality the same, only that the Madrid picture represents the man in the prime of life and vigour, while in the other he appears broken in health and prematurely aged. The Pitti portrait in fact, was painted several years later, when Bibbiena was already suffering from an incurable disease, and is either the work of Raphael's scholars, or the copy of a lost original by his own hand. No such doubt impairs the value of the Madrid picture. This handsome prelate, in his cape of red watered silk and lawn sleeves, is the *bel Bernardo* of Urbino days, the witty author of *La Calandra* and wily diplomat of Pope Leo's court. The blue eyes and chestnut hair, the long aquiline nose, the very smile that plays about the clever mouth, agree with all that we know of this able and cultured man of the world, who was also the intimate friend of Raphael. When the Cardinal died, a few months after the painter, he



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Raphael. Ance.

Braun, Clement & Co. Ph. Sc.

Cardinal Bibbiena.

left this portrait as his most valued possession to Castiglione, who took it with him to Spain, where it must have remained after his own death. Another distinguished humanist, Tommaso Inghirami, the librarian of the Vatican and friend of Erasmus, known in literary circles by his surname of Phædrus, was painted by Raphael, sitting at his writing-desk with his pen in his hand and his eye turned upwards, as if in search of some new inspiration. Unluckily, the original of this vigorous and impressive work remains hidden away in the palace of the Inghirami at Volterra, and is only known to most of us by an inferior copy in the Pitti.

The Pope's brother, Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, the best and most popular of all his house, had known Raphael at Urbino, and, when he married a Princess of Savoy, he gave the painter a post in his household. This prince returned to Rome with his bride in the spring of 1515, and, before he left to take command of the papal forces, he employed Raphael to paint his portrait. A few months afterwards, he died at Fiesole, on the 17th of March, 1516, to the grief of all his friends in Rome. Bembo, writing to Cardinal Bibbiena, who was with Giuliano in his last hours, speaks affectionately of the lamented duke, and gives some interesting particulars as to the portraits upon which Raphael was engaged. "To-morrow," he writes on the 3rd of April, "I am going with Raphael, Navagero, Beazzano, and Baldassare Castiglione, to see Tivoli once more, not having been there for twenty-seven years. We mean to see both old and new, and all that is beautiful in the country round. I go to please Messer Andrea, who leaves for Venice the day after Pasquino"—the 25th of April, when all the wits in Rome wrote satires and hung them on the famous torso of Pasquin, at the corner of the Braschi Palace. Both of these distinguished Venetian scholars, Navagero and Beazzano, who travelled in such good company to Tivoli, had their portraits painted by Raphael, and the canvas in which they appear side by side now hangs in the Doria Palace, a masterpiece of vitality and character. The portrait of the poet, Antonio Tebaldeo, is the subject of Bembo's next letter.

"Raphael, who desires to be respectfully remembered to you," he writes on the 14th of April, "has painted our Tebaldeo in so lifelike a manner, that he is not so exactly himself in actual existence as in this

picture. For my part I never saw so perfect a likeness. You may imagine what Messer Antonio says and thinks of it, and indeed he has every reason to be proud of it. In point of likeness, the portrait of Messer Baldassare Castiglione and that of our good and lamented duke—God grant him eternal bliss!—might be by the hand of an apprentice, compared with this of Tebaldeo. I am very envious and really think I must have my own portrait painted next. I had just written the last words when Raphael came in—I think he must have guessed what I was writing about him—and begged me to ask you to send him a description of the other subjects which are to be painted in your bath-room, since those which you sent last will be finished this week. *Per Dio!* this is no joke! And now comes Messer Baldassare, who sends you word that he is going to spend the whole summer in Rome, not to spoil a good custom, and more especially because it is Messer Antonio's wish."

A week later, Bembo wrote again in the same lively strain. This time he begged the cardinal to give him a little marble Venus, for which Raphael could not find room in his newly-painted *stufetta*, but which Bembo himself had long coveted for his own *camerino*, saying that he would place her there, between her father and brother, Jupiter and Mercury! "Raphael, whom you love so well," he adds, "has encouraged me to make this request." And again, "I am sure you will not give your Raphael the pain of a refusal." Bibbiena, however, quite declined to see the matter in this light, and refused to part from his Venerina even at the prayer of his well-beloved Raphael. Both the portraits of Tebaldeo and of Giuliano de' Medici have perished, but that of Castiglione still exists, and is worthy of the master who painted it and of the accomplished personage whom it represents. This distinguished-looking gentleman, in gray doublet and black velvet collar and sleeves, with the white lace ruffles, carefully trimmed beard and indescribable air of refined elegance, is the very model of a perfect courtier. How highly it was prized by Castiglione himself, we learn from the beautiful verses which he puts in the lips of his young wife, who tells her absent lord how in her loneliness Raphael's picture is her one comfort, and how at the sight of this living image her infant child stretches out his little arms and lisps the word "Father." Castiglione took the portrait with him to Spain, but after his death it went back to Mantua, and passed with the Gonzaga collection to



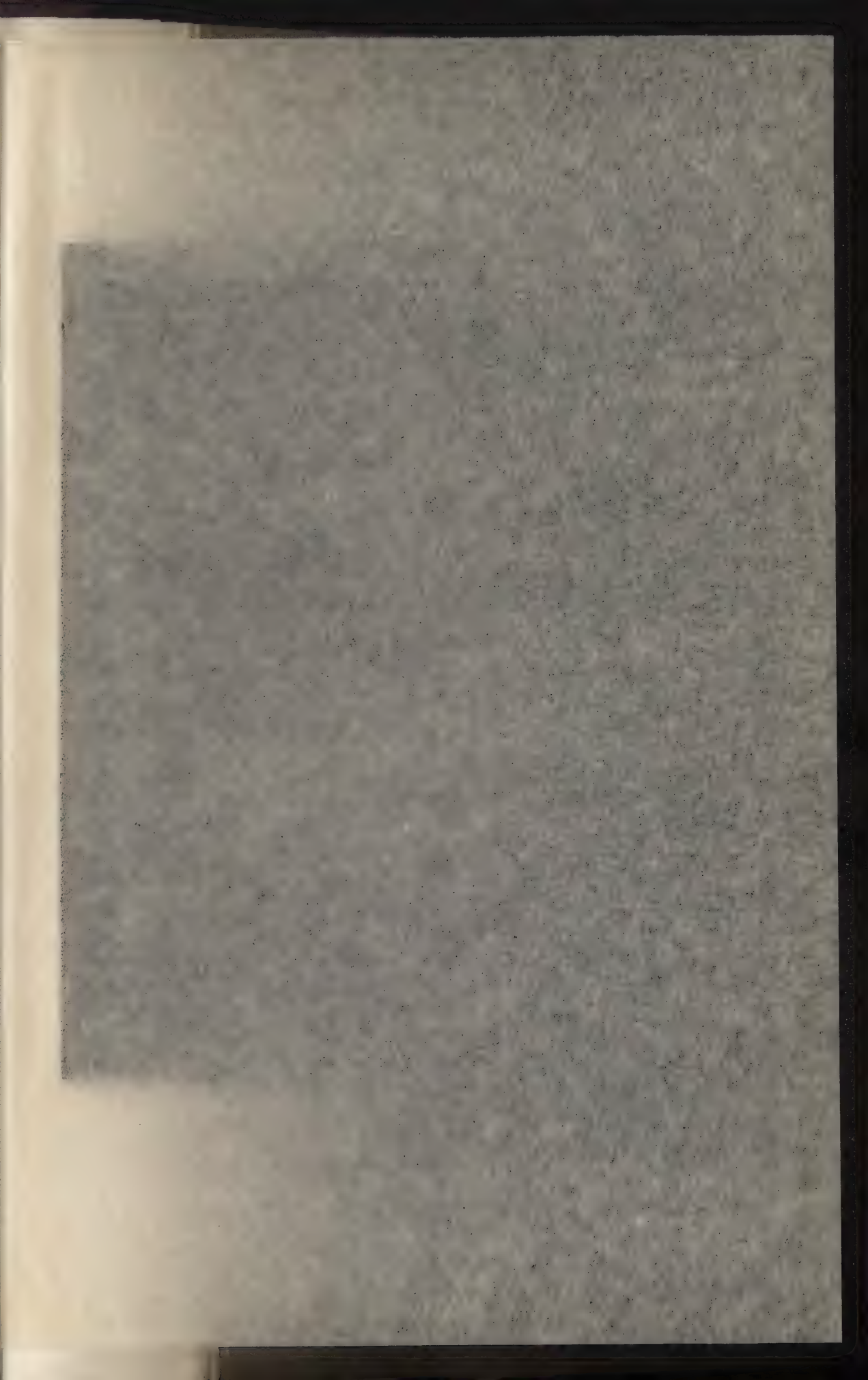
*Balthasar Castiglione, by Raphael. Louvre.
From a photograph by Braun, Clément & Cie, by permission.*

England and Amsterdam. There it was copied by Rembrandt and Rubens, and afterwards found a home in the Louvre.

Yet one more portrait belongs to this period, the *Donna Velata* of the Pitti, which, long labelled as a copy by a Bolognese artist, is now universally admitted to be a masterpiece of Raphael's art. The picture is of rare interest. It is the only woman portrait of his Roman days, and represents, there can be little doubt, the face of his beloved. The fables of the painter's love for the baker's daughter have long been rejected as a modern invention, and the portraits that formerly went by the name of the Fornarina, are now known to have no connection with Raphael. The *Improvisatrice* of the Tribune and the *Dorotea* of Berlin are the work of Sebastian del Piombo, and the *Fornarina* of the Barberini palace was painted by Giulio Romano. This half-naked woman, with the bold, black eyes, is plainly some handsome model who sat to Raphael's scholars. There is no reason whatever to assume that she was the painter's mistress, and as careful inspection will show, the bracelet bearing the words "Raphael Urbinas," which is commonly supposed to be a proof of this theory, was added by another hand and formed no part of the original work. The picture is a coarse and vulgar one, with none of the peculiar characteristics of Raphael's drawing, and utterly lacking the distinction that is the supreme quality of his art. Again, Vasari's stories of the master's excesses may be dismissed as idle calumnies, of which no evidence is to be found in contemporary records, and which are not even mentioned in Sebastian del Piombo's malicious letters. Raphael, judged by the standard of his times, led a blameless life, wholly devoted to his art, and too much absorbed in the work of creation to be eager to form new ties. Maria Bibbiena, the wife whom his friend the cardinal wished to give him, died before the wedding day, and lies buried by his side in the Pantheon. But the story of the woman whom he loved remains wrapt in obscurity. In two sonnets which he wrote on the back of his studies for the *Disputa*, now in the British Museum, he addresses the lady of his love as one far above him, and vows that he will never reveal her name. And Vasari tells us that he loved one woman to his dying day, and made a beautiful and living portrait of her, which Matteo Botti, of Florence, kept as a sacred relic. Cinelli, writing in 1677, mentions this portrait as still in the house of

the Botti, but soon afterwards it must have passed into the Medici Collection, where it remained, at the Grand Duke's villa of Poggio Reale, until 1824. It is painted on canvas, like the portraits of Castiglione and the two Venetians, in the Doria palace, with the same pearly shadows and the same warm golden glow. The maiden is of noble Roman type, her features are regular, her eyes dark and radiant. The white bodice that she wears is embroidered with gold, and the sleeves are of striped yellow camask. A veil rests on her smoothly parted hair and a string of shining black beads sets off the whiteness of her finely-modelled neck. Here, then, we have the woman whom Raphael loved to the end. Whether she was the lady of the sonnets, and his verses are written in the book that she clasps to her heart, or the *Mamola bella* whom he mentions in the letter to his uncle, we cannot tell. But we know that the same beautiful face meets us again in the royal-looking Magdalen, who stands at St. Cecilia's side in the Bologna altar-piece, and in that most divine of all his Virgins, the *Madonna di San Sisto*. Both of these were painted at this period. The first was ordered, towards the end of 1513, by Cardinal de' Pucci, for his kinswoman, Elena Duglioli, but only finished in 1515. This noble Bolognese lady had heard a voice from Heaven, bidding her raise a chapel to St. Cecilia, and it is this incident which is recorded in Raphael's picture. He has painted the Virgin-martyr holding an organ in her hand and standing in a woodland landscape with four other saints. On the right, the Magdalen holds her vase of precious ointment. On the left, St. Paul is leaning, lost in meditation, on the hilt of his sword. Behind them, St. Augustine and a youthful St. John listen for the organ melodies that will soon fill the air, but St. Cecilia herself has caught the sound of other voices, and her own instrument drops from her hand, as, lifting her rapt face to heaven, she sees the golden light breaking in the sky and hears the angel-song. Unfortunately, this fine picture was taken to Paris in 1798, and there transferred to canvas and entirely re-painted, so that the design is now the only part of Raphael's work remaining.

The *Madonna di San Sisto* was painted entirely by Raphael's hand, in the same transparent colour, with the same light and rapid touch as the portraits of this period. We notice the same silvery tones, the same absence of dark shadows, as in the *Castiglione* and the *Donna Velata*. No



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Augustus prima

Augustus prima

The Donna Velata.



studies for this picture are known to exist, and the red chalk outline on the canvas itself was probably the artist's sole preparation for the work. It was painted for the friars of San Sisto of Piacenza, possibly at the request of Antonio de' Monti, Cardinal of S. Sisto, and sold by the same community, in 1753, to Augustus III. of Saxony for £9,000. In the *Madonna di Foligno*, the artist had represented the Virgin throned upon the clouds and the saints kneeling upon earth. Now he went a step further and painted the Holy Mother and Child, descending out of highest heaven, adored by saints in glory, and framed in by green altar hangings. The curtains have been drawn back suddenly and we see the vision that is for all time. On the right, the venerable Pope Sixtus lifts his devout old face to heaven, on the left, a youthful St. Barbara smiles down at the twin boys who have strayed from the angel band, and resting their elbows on the parapet below, look up with big wistful eyes. The surface has been damaged by the restorer's hand, the colour has peeled off in places and St. Barbara's face has been badly injured, but still the picture retains a certain sublime beauty which makes it unlike all other Madonnas. The Child, cradled in His mother's arms and looking out with grave wonder on the world, has less of innocent mirth than Raphael's other babies and more of the majesty of the Incarnate God. This Virgin's face, with the calm broad forehead and the mystery about the eyes, is that of the unknown maiden whose features sank so deeply into Raphael's heart, but raised and glorified above all earthly thoughts. And, as before, old memories are mingled with the new. The pure line and flowing drapery, the perfect rhythm of the whole, recalls the Madonna of the Gran Duca, and recollections of the earliest and fairest of his Florentine Virgins come to blend with this immortal dream of his last Roman years.

The same grand and impressive character marks the cartoons which Raphael designed for the tapestries of the Sistine Chapel. On the roof, Michelangelo had painted the story of the Creation and of the Fall, and the types which foreshadowed the world's redemption. Florentine and Umbrian masters had adorned the walls with scenes from the life of Christ. Now Leo X., desiring to complete the decoration, asked Raphael to design a series of tapestries setting forth the acts of the apostles, Peter and Paul, and the foundation of Christ's kingdom upon

earth. The first payment for these works was made on the 1st of June, 1515, the last on the 21st of December, 1516, by which time the ten cartoons were completed and sent to Flanders, to be woven into tapestry. Three of the set, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, *The Conversion of St. Paul*, and his *Escape from Prison at Philippi*, have been lost. The other seven remained at Brussels and were bought by Charles I. in 1630 at the suggestion of Rubens. To-day these famous works hang in South Kensington Museum and their subjects are familiar to us all. In the Stanze, Raphael had to deal with new material, here he takes the old Bible stories and sets them forth with a higher degree of artistic perfection than had ever been done before. In their present faded and mutilated condition the simplicity and grandeur of the composition is what strikes us most. All superfluous matter is put aside, and the central thought stands out as completely as in the noblest creations of classical art. The way in which the swift interchange of thought and the struggle of contending passions is realised, is even more remarkable than the consummate drawing and admirable symmetry of the groups. The colours employed are very few and simple. Instead of the subtle gradations of tone, the delicate hues and pearly shadows of his pictures, we have broad masses of light and shade, and such tints as the weaver is best able to reproduce. Vasari says that Raphael painted the whole of the cartoons with his own hand, but his pupils, it is plain, had a large share in the execution. Giulio Romano's muscular limbs and opaque shadows are frequently seen. Giovanni da Udine is said to have painted the cranes and shells in the foreground of the *Draught of Fishes*, and Penni and others were no doubt employed on the draperies and architectural details. None the less, there is far more of Raphael's own work in the cartoons than in most of the other paintings which he executed during the last few years of his life. The Carmine frescoes, which he had studied so attentively in his youth, and had lately seen again at Florence, supplied him with the grouping of *The Charge to Peter*, and the figure of *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*. The details of the pagan sacrifice in the temple courts at Lystra were directly borrowed, like so many of Raphael's compositions, from antique bas-reliefs, and the faithfulness with which the columns and porticoes of classical buildings were reproduced, bore witness to his archæological researches. All his old love for the beauty of hill and

shore found expression in the exquisite scenes on the banks of the lake of Gennesareth, with their wide horizons and idyllic sense of repose. And in the risen Lord appearing to the chosen few, in the boat, and on the shore, he has given us an ideal of majesty and tenderness worthy to rank with Lionardo's Christ.

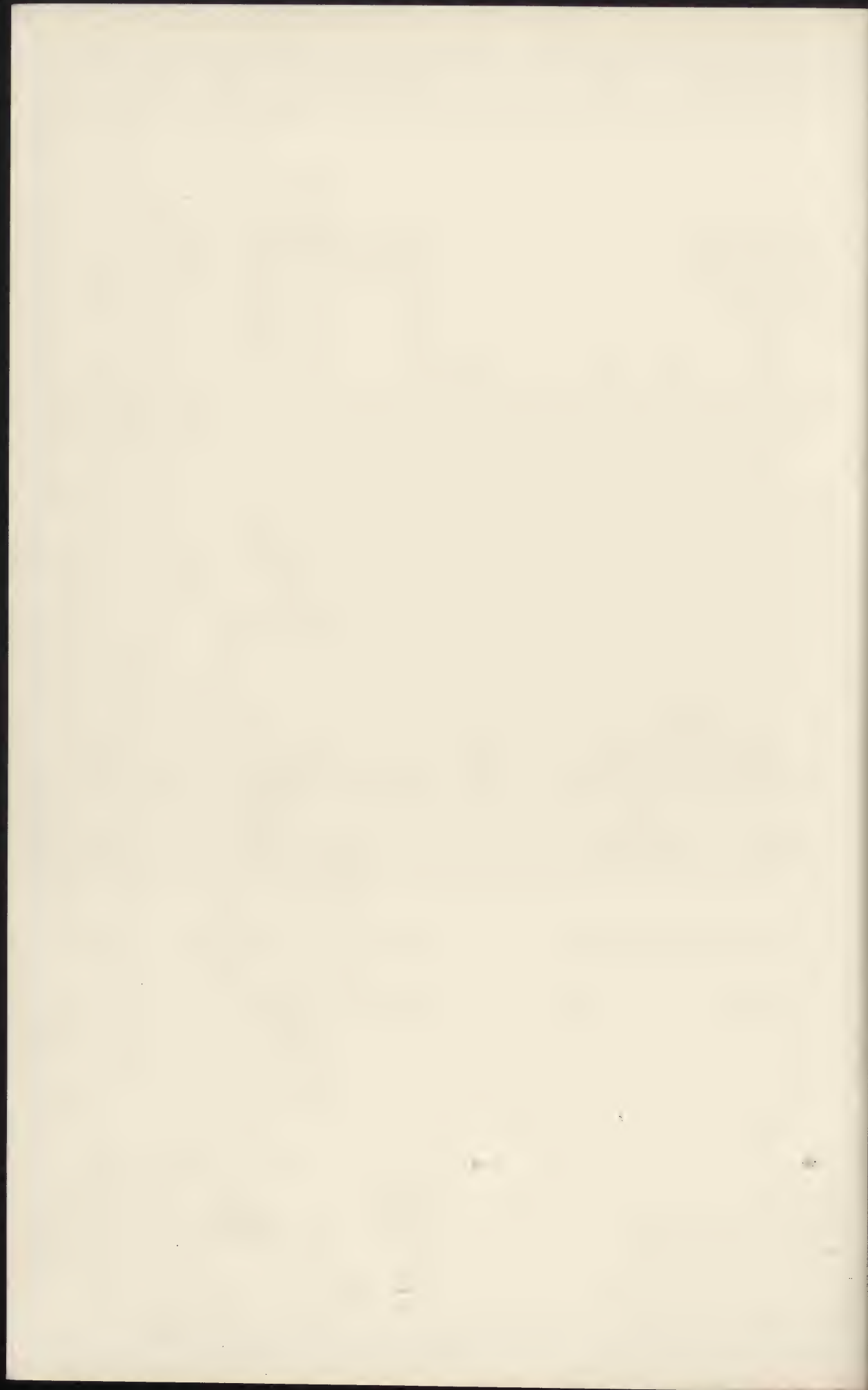
The cartoons occupy a unique position in the history of the Renaissance, standing, as they do, at the close of that memorable phase of human thought, and on the brink of the coming decadence. All the efforts of former artists seem to culminate in this one great achievement of Raphael's prime. The extraordinary popularity which the works enjoyed, the influence which their types exercised upon future painters, must be ascribed not only to their high artistic merit, but to the exactness with which every detail of the sacred story is followed. They reflect the new spirit of inquiry and Bible-reading that was already abroad, and remind us that while Raphael was painting the cartoons, Luther was preaching against papal indulgences at Wittenberg. As, in the Vatican frescoes, this great master had set forth the creed of the middle ages and the ideals of the Renaissance, so in the cartoons he foreshadowed the new theology of the Reformation. And the cartoons also mark the final stage of Raphael's artistic development. The promise of his wonderful youth had been fulfilled. From first to last, his career had been one of unbroken progress. He had gone from strength to strength, mastering new problems and learning new lessons at every step, and yet in a marvellous way, retaining his own individuality through all. Now he entered on the last and closing phase of his life. His creative powers were as splendid, his designs as magnificent as ever, but, except in a few rare instances, the execution of his conceptions was of necessity left to his assistants. And so, in these works of his closing years, a marked decline became visible. The pictures that issued wholesale from his workshop, were signed with his name, but they bore no trace of his hand. It was utterly beyond the power of any one artist to execute the orders which poured in upon him from all sides. Kings and cardinals counted themselves fortunate if they could obtain a picture designed by this illustrious master. The *Madonna del Pesce* was painted at the request of one of his oldest patrons, Cardinal Riario, for a church at Naples. The famous picture of *Christ bearing the Cross* was sent to Sicily, and adorned the

altar of the church of St. Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo until it was chased by Philip IV. of Spain. The Holy Family, known as the *Perla*, is supposed to have been executed for the Count of Canossa in 1518, and after passing with the Gonzaga Collection to Whitehall, was bought at the sale of Charles the First's pictures for the King of Spain. The *Visitation*, also at Madrid, was ordered by the papal chamberlain, Brancantonio dell' Aquila, for the church of his native town, and the young *St. John* in the Tribune of the Uffizi is said to have been executed for Cardinal Colonna. The little picture of the *Vision of Ezekiel*, painted, in 1518, for Count Ercolani of Bologna and now in the Pitti, is of especial interest. Here Christian and pagan motives are curiously blended together, and Jehovah is seen like the Olympian Jove riding upon an eagle and ox, and upborne by angels in his flight through space. But if the design clearly springs from Raphael's brain, the execution is as certainly that of Giulio Romano. All of these works bear the stamp of the same creative mind, and were consequently accepted by an uncritical age as painted by Raphael's own hand. Fifty years ago, the revival of a truer taste led modern critics to include the master of Urbino in the sweeping condemnation which they passed upon his school. He was held responsible for the decadence that set in after his death, and his very name became a word of reproach. But the new criticism has repaired the wrong, and has taught us to discriminate, at least in a measure, between the evil and the good, between the scholars and the master.

The two great decorative works of Raphael's last years were the frescoes of the Farnesina and of the Vatican Loggia. At Chigi's request, he adorned the open colonnade of his villa, afterwards the property of the Farnese princes, with scenes from the myth of Cupid and Psyche. The tale of Psyche's love and of the wrath of Venus was displayed on the spandrels of the ceiling, in ten separate pictures, and the intervening spaces above the arches were decorated with *amorini*, bearing the emblems of the gods, the trident of Neptune and the sword of Mars. Each subject was framed in garlands of fruit and flowers, with a background of blue sky, and two large frescoes, the *Council of the Gods* and the *Marriage Feast of Cupid* were painted by Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni on the flat ceiling above. The way in which monotony has been avoided and the difficulties presented by the construction of the building have been over-



*Mercury, by Raphael. Farnesina.
From the engraving by Marc Antonio.*



come is beyond all praise. The loggia is transformed into an arbour of green leaves and flowers, hung, as it were, with rich tapestries, spread out against the blue sky. But exposure to sun and wind during a hundred years destroyed the colour of the frescoes, and in the last century they underwent a thorough restoration, at the hands of Carlo Maratta. Now, Raphael's design and his pupils' brushwork are hidden under a thick coat of gaudy reds and coarse blues, and we can only form a faint idea of the joyous brightness, the airy and pœtic charm which thrilled the hearts of the spectators, on the day when Chigi opened his villa doors, and all Rome flocked to the Lungara. But even then the detractor's voice was raised, and Lionardo the saddler told Michelangelo that the ceiling of Chigi's loggia was a disgrace to the master, and was even worse than the last Stanza of the palace. And Vasari remarks that the figures in these frescoes lacked the charm and grace peculiar to Raphael, since they had not been painted by him, but executed by his scholars from his designs. Several fine studies of the Farnesina groups are to be seen in the Louvre and Albertina, at Windsor, Oxford, and Chatsworth. Most of these are the work of Giulio Romano, but one precious pen-and-ink sketch of the famous Mercury by Raphael's own hand, is in the Museum of Cologne.

The decoration of the Vatican Loggia was begun late in 1517, and not completed until the summer of 1519. These galleries, originally intended by Julius II. to connect the Belvedere Casino with the Vatican Palace, were begun by Bramante, and continued after his death by Raphael, who added a third story to the double tier of arches already erected by his predecessor. At the same time, he planned an entirely new and original scheme for the decoration of the second story, which, leading from the Stanze and looking out on the city and Campagna, was set apart for the Pope's use. The pilasters and walls of these thirteen arcades were covered with stucco ornaments, in imitation of the antique *grotteschi* in the Baths of Titus. Flowers and fruit, birds and animals, medallion busts and groups of classical subjects, in exquisite and endless variety, were interwoven in these delicate arabesques designed by Raphael and executed with rare elegance by Giovanni da Udine. On the vaulting of the arcades, set in this lovely framework, is the series of small paintings known as "Raphael's Bible." Forty-two of these subjects are taken from the Old Testament, four only, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Magi*, and the *Sacraments of Baptism*,

and the *Lord's Supper*, belong to the Gospel story. In after years, these little frescoes were universally ascribed to Raphael, but as a matter of fact, both Vasari and the Venetian scholar, Marc Antonio Michieli, expressly say that they were painted by his assistants from his designs. The whole series has been ruined by restoration, but many of the compositions, especially the early subjects from the story of the patriarchs, are full of charm. As usual, Raphael has adapted his style to the limited space at his disposal, and the simple action and delicate poetry of his conceptions has been admirably rendered by Perino di Vaga, the one of all his scholars who inherited most of his master's grace and feeling. The stucco mouldings are rapidly crumbling to pieces, and the colour is scaling off the walls, but the whole effect is still incomparably rich and brilliant. Architecture and painting, stucco ornament and mosaic pavement were all inspired by the same invention, and the result is that we have here the finest and most complete decorative work of the Renaissance.

This association of all the arts and crafts, under one master-mind, was the most remarkable achievement of Raphael's last years. A whole school of architects and painters, of sculptors, engravers, mosaic workers, wood-carvers and gilders had sprung up under the influence of his genius, and were employed in building and decorating churches, palaces, and villas, under his direction. And perfect harmony, Vasari tells us, reigned in that vast workshop. The gentle spirit of the master seemed to penetrate the whole body of artists, who one and all adored him as a teacher and loved him as a father. Never before had Rome, the capital of Christendom, witnessed so splendid a burst of artistic activity. And no painter before, had ever attained so high a degree of honour and renown. The death of Bramante, the absence of Michelangelo, had left him without a rival, both in the Pope's favour and in the popular estimation. He lived, we are told by Vasari, not as a painter but as a prince, and fifty scholars accompanied him daily from his house to the Vatican. "You walk as a general at the head of an army," was the significant remark with which Michelangelo one day greeted him. "And you," replied Raphael gaily, "as an executioner on his way to the scaffold." The words are a curious illustration of the contrast that marked the character and habits, as well as the genius, of the two men.



*Jupiter and Eros, by Raphael. Farnesina.
From the engraving by Marc Antonio.*

The long-disputed question as to the site of Raphael's own house has been finally set at rest by Professor Rossi's discoveries. We know now that on the 7th of October, 1517, he bought a palace which Bramante had lately built in the Borgo Nuovo, on the little Piazza of S. Giacomo Scossacavallo for the Caprini of Viterbo. Two drawings, the one published by Lafreri in 1549, the other taken by the grandson of Domenico Alfani, who visited Rome in 1581, and found by Professor Rossi in the library at Perugia, show us the *façade* of Raphael's house, adorned with Doric and rustic columns, as described by Vasari. The arms of the painter were carved in stone over the windows, and were still to be seen at the close of the sixteenth century. Six weeks after Raphael's death, the palace was sold by his executors to Cardinal Accolti, who lived next door, and the two houses were thrown into one. In 1685, the building became the property of the Confraternity of Penitenzieri, who turned it into a hospital. Since then, this once splendid palace has undergone a complete transformation, and little now remains of its former magnificence. But the columns of an arcade, paved with majolica tiles like the Vatican *Loggia*, may still be seen, overlooking the piazza, and on the first floor, there is a vast hall with massive walnut doors and a richly decorated ceiling, the very hall, it may be, where the dead painter lay in state on that sad Easter Eve. In this graceful Renaissance palace, Raphael spent the last years of his life. The Vatican and St. Peter's were close at hand, at the end of the new street, adorned with so many great houses, built by Bramante and himself, and inhabited by his friends. There he lived, with his favourite pupils as companions, and the first scholars of the day among his most frequent visitors. Here letters and messages from the chief courts of Europe, reached him at all hours of the day, and ambassadors and prelates waited patiently at the doors, in the hope of being admitted for a few moments into the great master's presence. A position of such exceptional distinction naturally provoked envy in the hearts of less fortunate artists, and the followers of Michelangelo made no secret of the hatred with which they regarded Raphael and his scholars. Chief among these disappointed rivals was Sebastian del Piombo, whose letters to Michelangelo are prompted by the most vindictive feelings. No insinuation is too base, no calumny too vile for him to repeat. On one occasion he accuses Raphael of robbing the Pope of three ducats a day, in wages and gilding, and

boasts that he will bring proofs of the charge before Cardinal Medici. At the same time, his keen eye was quick to detect the inferiority of much of



*Venus and Cupid, by Raphael.
From the engraving by Marc Antonio.*

the work that went by Raphael's name, and his sarcastic remarks on the last Stanze and the Farnesina frescoes, or the pictures painted for Francis I. were not without foundation. In 1517, to his great satisfaction

he received an order from Cardinal Medici, who asked both him and Raphael to paint altar-pieces for the church of Narbonne. The *Raising of Lazarus* was the theme assigned to Sebastian, while Raphael agreed to paint the *Resurrection*, a subject which he afterwards changed for the *Transfiguration*. Sebastian set to work at once, with the help of Michelangelo, who spent a few weeks in Rome, early in 1518, and had almost finished the picture by the following July, but declared that he would not let it be seen, for fear that Raphael should borrow his ideas. Raphael, however, was far too much engaged to think of the Cardinal's altar-piece. Early in 1518, he painted the portrait of the Pope's nephew Lorenzo, who had recently been made Duke of Urbino, in the place of the rightful prince, Francesco della Rovere. This work, which is described by Lorenzo himself as a masterpiece, has been lost, but another portrait, which he painted in the same year, remains to show us that his powers of hand and brain were still undiminished. This is the magnificent group of *Leo X. and the two Cardinals*, in the Pitti. The Pope is seated at a table, holding a magnifying glass in one hand and turning over the pages of an illuminated breviary. The Cardinals stand up behind his chair, De' Rossi on the right and Giulio de' Medici on the left. The composition is curiously like Sebastian del Piombo's portrait of *Carondelet and his Secretaries*, in the Duke of Grafton's collection, and shows that the jealous suspicion with which the Venetian painter regarded his rival was not altogether groundless. But the execution of Raphael's picture surpassed all that others could do. This portrait of Pope Leo, with his heavy jaw, short neck, and fat white hands, is as wonderful a revelation of character as that of Julius II. himself. We see him there, exactly as he is described in contemporary records, the cultured, pleasure-loving man, kindly and good-natured as a rule, but hard and crafty in his dealings with others, and vindictive and unscrupulous when his own interests were at stake. Vasari, who was familiar with this portrait in the Medici palace, declares that the figures are not painted but as it were cut in relief, and dwells with enthusiasm on the marvellous way in which the furs and velvets, the chased silver bell, and the reflection of the Pope's robe, of the room and windows in the gold ball of the armchair, are all reproduced. Even here, Giulio Romano painted some of the draperies as we learn from his own statement, but that Raphael executed all the

more important parts of the picture, is evident when we compare the portrait with others ascribed to him, in which he had no share.

In May, 1518, Lorenzo de' Medici went to France to marry Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, and the Pope employed Raphael to paint two pictures as a present to Francis I. On the 27th, the Duke of Ferrara's envoy reported that Raphael had finished a St. Michael for the King of France and a Virgin and Child, with four other beautiful figures,



*Joseph telling his Dreams, by Perino del Vaga, after Raphael. Loggie, Vatican
From a photograph by D. Anderson, by permission.*

for the Queen, and the pictures were immediately sent to Fontainebleau. "I am heartily sorry," wrote Sebastian del Piombo to Michelangelo, "you were not in Rome to see the two pictures, which have been sent to France, by the Prince of the Synagogue! You could not imagine anything more contrary to your ideas of art. The figures look as if they had been blackened with smoke, or cut out in hard steel, and are drawn after a fashion of which Lionardo must tell you more!" His judgment

was in the main correct. Both pictures are fine in design. The great Archangel of the Louvre, flashing down from heaven and planting his foot on the vanquished dragon, is a grand conception, very interesting to compare with the little St. Michael of early Urbino days. And the Virgin, with the Child springing up to meet her, and the kneeling angel scattering flowers on his head, is a lovely dream, such as few but Raphael could have imagined. But the pictures have been ruined in the process of painting, and the hard metallic hues, the black shadows and copper-coloured flesh tints all betray the hand of Giulio Romano. That Raphael should have allowed such work to be sent to Fontainebleau as his production, may appear strange. But he could not help himself. He was overburdened with tasks, and pressed on all sides by impatient masters, whose demands he could not satisfy.

On one hand there was the Pope urging him to design frescoes for the next Stanza, wall-paintings for his hunting-box at La Magliana, and a new series of tapestries for the Sistina. One day, he is called from his work to design a medal in honour of Lorenzo's wedding; another he must paint the elephant, presented to the Pope by the King of Portugal. The elephant's portrait was actually painted, probably by Giulio Romano, although the inscription placed on the Vatican walls, stated that it was the work of Raphael. And all the while the decoration of the Vatican Loggia and the works of St. Peter's, were being carried on under his superintendence. On the other hand, there were the cardinals all clamouring for pictures, 'Giulio de' Medici asking, not only for his altarpiece but for plans for the sumptuous villa that he was building on the slopes of Monte Mario, and Leo's nephew, Cardinal Cibo, seeking his help in the theatrical performances with which he amused the Pope on Sunday evenings. The Duke of Ferrara's envoy, Paulucci, has left us a lively description of the night when Ariosto's *Suppositi* was performed, and he saw the Holy Father put up his glasses to examine the beautiful scenery painted by Raphael. In the midst of this bewildering diversity of engagements, Raphael set to work on an undertaking which would, in the eyes of most men, have been enough to fill a whole lifetime. This was nothing less than a systematic survey of ancient Rome, illustrated with drawings of all the principal monuments. With the help of the learned humanist, Andreas Fulvius, he explored the first of the fourteen



*Leo X. and Cardinals, by Raphael. Pitti Gallery, Florence.
From a photograph by Braun, Clément & Cie, by permission.*

regions into which the city was to be divided, taking exact measurements of all the buildings with the newly-discovered compass, and making drawings of temples and baths that were no longer in existence, from the descriptions of classical writers. Both plan and sketches have perished, but the report which Raphael drew up in the shape of a dedicatory letter to the Pope, written in elegant Latin, is attached to the copy of Calvi's translation of Vitruvius, in the Munich library. In this interesting epistle, which Raphael probably prepared with the help of Castiglione, he laments the destruction of ancient monuments, which he had witnessed during the last few years, and after saying that the whole of new Rome is cemented with the lime of old marbles, implores the Pope to protect the remains of the once imperial city. He proceeds to express his dislike of Gothic architecture, and his ardent admiration for Bramante and the classical style which it is his ambition to imitate. This last scheme excited the keenest interest of the humanists in Rome, and is described in glowing language by more than one of Raphael's contemporaries. The papal secretary, Calcagnini, who, after being long absent in Hungary, returned to Rome in 1519, told his German friend, Jacob Ziegler, of the great work which this wonderful youth, the first of living painters and most excellent of architects, was preparing, in the following words: "I do not now speak of the Vatican basilica, of which he is chief architect, but of a plan of the city itself, which he is reproducing in its ancient aspect and proportions. By excavating the foundations of old monuments from the heaps of rubbish which concealed them, and restoring them with the help of ancient descriptions, he has filled Pope Leo and all Rome with such admiration, that they look upon him as a god sent down from heaven to restore the Eternal City in her former majesty. And yet, so far from being puffed up with pride, he meets every one on friendly and familiar terms and rejects no advice or criticism. On the contrary, he is never better pleased than when his opinion is doubted or disputed, and is always eager to learn, counting this to be the greatest joy in life."

The writer goes on to tell his friend how this marvellous young man, *vir prædives et pontifici gratissimus*, has received under his own roof the old humanist, Fabio Calvi, whom he found, at eighty years of age, living on cabbage and lettuce, in a hole no better than the tub of Diogenes, and

actually tends and cherishes him, as if he were his own father. The picture which Calcagnini draws of the great painter, at the height of his glory, courted and caressed as he was by cardinals and princes, devoting himself to the crabbed old humanist, and listening patiently to his fancies, for the sake of learning what he had to teach, is one of rare interest. It shows us how Raphael preserved the modesty and charm of his nature through all, and remained to the end, as eager and anxious to learn, as he had been in the days of his youth.

In these last years of his life, archæological studies, it is plain, became his most absorbing pursuit. He sent his scholars to Greece and Naples, to Athens and Pozzuoli, to take drawings of all the classical remains which they could discover, and succeeded in firing them with his own enthusiasm for antiquity. And he collected gems and medals and vases with the indefatigable ardour common to all cultured men and women in those days. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered if he found himself unable to keep his promises and execute all the commissions which he received. The poor nuns of Monteluce never got their altar-piece, and Isabella d'Este waited four years in vain for a little picture which Raphael had promised to paint for her *Grotta*. Castiglione indeed was obliged to confess that Raphael only worked at it in his presence, and put it away directly his back was turned ! Yet when the Marchesana asked Count Baldassare to procure a design for her husband's tomb, there was no one to whom he could go but Raphael, and a sketch from his pen was actually sent to Mantua a few months before he died. But the most persistent of all the noble patrons who besieged Raphael with orders, was Isabella's brother Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara. The way in which he harried the painter, and, regardless of delays and excuses, persevered to the end in his suit, helps us to realise the sort of persecution which Raphael had to endure at this time of his life. In March 1517, he promised to paint a *Triumph of Bacchus* for the duke's *camerino* as soon as the frescoes of the Stanza di Eliodoro were finished, but in November, hearing that Pellegrino di Udine was engaged on a similar subject, he asked leave to choose another theme, and sent a sketch of the proposed picture to Ferrara. At the same time, he made the duke a present of the cartoon of the fresco of Leo III. and Charlemagne, in the last Stanza. In December, Bishop Costabili, Alfonso's envoy in Rome, paid the master

50 ducats in advance, but Raphael was too busy, working at the paintings for the French king, to begin the duke's picture that winter. All that year the same delays and excuses were repeated, together with the same protestations of anxiety to serve the duke. First the picture was promised for Easter, then for Christmas. Meanwhile, in the hope of allaying the duke's impatience, Raphael sent him the cartoon of his *Archangel Michael*, by one of his assistants, who was on his way to buy colours at Venice, and Alfonso, in return, presented him with 25 ducats, "to make good cheer on the feast of St. Martin."

The duke spent that Christmas at the French court, and begged Raphael to let him have the cartoon of the portrait of Joanna of Aragon, the fair wife of Ascanio Colonna, Viceroy of Naples, which had been lately presented to Francis I. by the papal legate, Cardinal Bibbiena. Raphael complied with his request, but told him frankly that this cartoon was the work of an assistant, whom he had sent to Naples, at the cardinal's request, to take Joanna's portrait. By this time, the painter's whole thoughts were absorbed in his survey of ancient Rome, and in February 1519, he told Costabili that he was glad he had not begun the duke's picture, for that, in the last three months, he had learnt more of perspective than he had ever known before. But the old Bishop's health was failing, and the duke sent a younger secretary to take his place, telling him to demand the delivery of Raphael's picture without delay. Paulucci, as the new envoy was named, met the painter at court and at evening parties in the rooms of the cardinals. Each time Raphael greeted him with the same fair speeches, and invited him to come and see the picture which he was painting for the duke, at his own house. But each time Paulucci presented himself at the master's house, he was put off with some excuse, and was forced to own that Raphael's polite phrases were but idle words. "And yet," he adds disconsolately, "he seems a very courteous gentleman." One evening in September, he found the door of the painter's house open, and getting off his horse, he walked boldly in, and asked for the master, but was stopped by a servant, who came to say that Messer Raphael was up stairs, engaged in painting the portrait of Messer Baldassarre Castiglione, and could not be disturbed. The duke's picture, he heard, had been sketched out, but was turned with its face to the wall, under a pile of other canvases in the same state. Battista Dossi, however, assured him that

Raphael would have finished Cardinal Medici's altar-piece by next Carnival, and would then satisfy his Excellency without fail. Still Paulucci persevered in his troublesome task and lay in wait for the painter, day after day, as he went to and fro, between his house and the Vatican. At length, on the 17th of December, he caught him on the scaffolding of St. Peter's, superintending the work of strengthening some piers that showed signs of giving way. The painter addressed him with his habitual courtesy, saying that he must finish the business he had on hand with the builders, but that he hoped Paulucci would come and see him another day. By this time, however, Alfonso's patience was fairly at an end. He wrote angrily to his secretary, and sent Raphael word that his promises were all lies, but that he would soon let him see that the Duke of Ferrara was no vulgar plebeian, to be treated in this fashion. Still Paulucci tried to gain his end by fair means, and told his master that Raphael, like all men of his genius, suffered from melancholy, especially since he had embraced the profession of architect, and was in Bramante's place. At length his patience was rewarded, and on the 20th of March, he gained admission into Raphael's house, where he saw many beautiful things and conversed for some time with the master. Raphael promised to make his excuses to the duke, through his friend Dosso Dossi, and talked in a friendly manner of the way in which he had cured his chimneys of smoking, offering to send the duke drawings of the plan which he had adopted in his own house. Paulucci went away charmed, and full of hope for the future. But when he wrote again, on the 7th of April, Raphael was in his grave, and the envoy's brief letter gave the Duke of Ferrara the sad news of his death and burial.

The last picture to which he devoted his powers was the *Transfiguration*. In September, 1519, he had at length set to work upon the Cardinal's altar-piece, intending, as Vasari tells us, to paint the whole picture with his own hand. Sebastian del Piombo's *Raising of Lazarus* had been exhibited at Christmas, in the Cardinal's house, and the Venetian boasted that it was far superior to the arras which had lately come from Flanders. The eyes of all Rome were upon the two painters, and Raphael was determined that this time his picture should be worthy of his name. His idea was a great one. The actual Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor and the vain efforts of His disciples to heal the

demoniac were combined in one picture. A noble drawing of the upper group, the majestic Christ soaring heavenwards, and the three Apostles hiding their faces from the blinding light, may be seen at Chatsworth. The figures are undraped, and unlike the more finished studies in other collections, are drawn by Raphael's own hand. But this portion of the work was all that he had time to do. Before he could sketch in the rest the brush dropped from his hand, and his orphaned scholars were left to finish the picture. On the 20th of March he received the Duke of Ferrara's envoy. On the 24th, he signed a contract with the Canons of St. Peter, for the purchase of a plot of land for building purposes. Three days after that, he fell ill of a fever, brought on, it has been sometimes said, by his archæological excursions in the malarial quarters of the city, or else, as others tell us, the result of a chill caught by waiting in a hall of the Vatican, after hurrying from Chigi's villa, in obedience to a summons from the Pope. Whatever the cause of the illness may have been, he had no strength to resist the attack. That unwonted melancholy which Paulucci had noticed some months before, was a sign that his health was giving way under the prolonged strain to which it had been exposed. He sank rapidly, worn out in body and mind. But he retained sufficient consciousness to make his will, and appointed two of the chief officials of the Pope's household, Brancantonio dell' Aquila and Baldassarre Turini, to be his executors. He gave directions for his burial in the Pantheon, left a thousand ducats to endow a sepulchral chapel, and a sum of three hundred ducats to each of his servants. The bulk of his property, valued at sixteen thousand ducats, was left to his relatives at Urbino, and all his unfinished works of art to his pupils, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. At nine o'clock, on the evening of Good Friday, the 6th of April, he breathed his last, having exactly completed his thirty-eighth year. His scholars, feeling in their bitter grief, like children suddenly bereft of a father, placed the unfinished *Transfiguration* at the head of the bed, where their master lay in his last sleep. There the crowds, who came to look once more on the face of Raphael, saw him with his great picture at his side, and broke into tears and sobs, at the mournful contrast between the dead man and the living forms that his hand had fashioned. The next day, all the artists in Rome, followed by a great concourse of people, bore

him to the grave which he had chosen for himself, before the altar of Our Lady, under the dome of the Pantheon. Court and city alike were plunged into mourning, and there was a general feeling of consternation and dismay. The Pope himself wept bitterly. The walls of the Vatican Loggie cracked and seemed about to crumble to pieces. "*Lapides scissi sunt!*" The heavens have spoken, as at the death of Christ," wrote the Mantuan envoy to his mistress, in a pathetic letter, in which he described the gloom of that fatal Good Friday, and told Isabella that no one in Rome could talk or think of anything but the death of Raphael. And Marc' Antonio Michieli wrote in the same strain to his friends at Venice:

"On the night of Good Friday, that most gentle and excellent of painters, Raphael of Urbino, died, to the infinite grief of all men, but especially of the learned, for whom, even more than for painters and architects, he was preparing a plan of the antique monuments of Rome, with their forms and ornaments so correctly drawn, that to see this would have been to see the ancient city. Now this glorious work is interrupted by the envious hand of Death, who has robbed us of this youthful master, at the age of thirty-four, and on his own birthday. The Pope himself is plunged in grief, and during the fortnight that the painter's illness lasted, sent to him six times with messages of inquiry and condolence. Judge by that, what others have done! And since the palace of the Pope has threatened to fall into ruins, and His Holiness has had to take refuge in Monsignore Cibo's rooms, there are some who believe this accident to have been caused, not merely by the weight of the upper porticoes, but by the death of the artist who decorated its walls. And, indeed, a most rare and excellent master has passed away, and every gentle soul must grieve to think that he is gone. His body has been honourably interred in the Rotonda, and his spirit is doubtless gone to contemplate those celestial mansions where there can be no decay. The world, to my mind, has suffered a far less heavy loss in the death of Messer Agostino Chigi, who died last night, leaving in securities, ready money, banking accounts, houses, and jewels, upwards of eight million ducats. Michelangelo is said to be ill in Florence. Tell our Catena to take care, for this is a fatal time for great painters."

Even the voice of envy was hushed in the general sense of loss, and Sebastian del Piombo wrote to Michelangelo: "You will have heard of the death of that poor Raphael of Urbino, and the news, I know,

will have grieved you sorely. May God grant him pardon!" Poets and scholars alike—the humanists who lamented his premature end, and the friends who had loved him, Ariosto and Bembo, Calcagnini and Tebaldeo, recorded their grief in elegant verses, in sonnets and epitaphs. But, more touching in its simplicity than any of these elaborate elegies, was the exclamation that broke from the lips of Castiglione, when he came back to Rome and found himself without his friend. "I am in good health," he wrote to his mother, "but cannot believe that I am in Rome, now that my poor Raphael is no longer here. God keep that blessed soul!"

The death of Raphael marks the close of a great era. One by one the leaders of that brilliant age were passing out of sight. The splendid banker, Chigi, died in the same week, Cardinal Bibbiena a few months later, Leo X. himself, in the autumn of the following year. He was succeeded by Adrian VI., an austere pontiff with little love for art, and at the end of a few short years, came the horrors of the sack of Rome. The scholars of Raphael were scattered and his masterpieces exposed to barbarous outrages. German soldiers pillaged the Vatican and stabled their horses in the Stanze that were adorned with Raphael's frescoes. In those terrible days, the hearts of men naturally turned back to the peace and splendour of Leo the Tenth's reign, and they thought of that vanished time as a golden age. But the great movement was already on the wane. Nothing better proves the strength and purity of Raphael's genius, than the marks of decline that became evident in the work of his followers, the moment his controlling influence was withdrawn. Had he lived his full term of years, we are sometimes tempted to think, the decadence might have been arrested for another half a century. But the gods loved him, and he was fortunate in the hour of his death.

In his life and in his work, in his ardour for knowledge and his passion for antiquity, in his belief in the power of culture to sweeten and elevate humanity, above all, in his instinctive love of beauty, and in the large serenity of his art, Raphael represents the best and highest aims of the Renaissance. For once the ideal of Plato was realised, and in him the world saw an artist whose own beautiful and gracious nature was in perfect harmony with his dreams, whose creations, "like a health-giving breeze from a purer region, draw the soul insensibly into likeness and sympathy with the beauty of reason."

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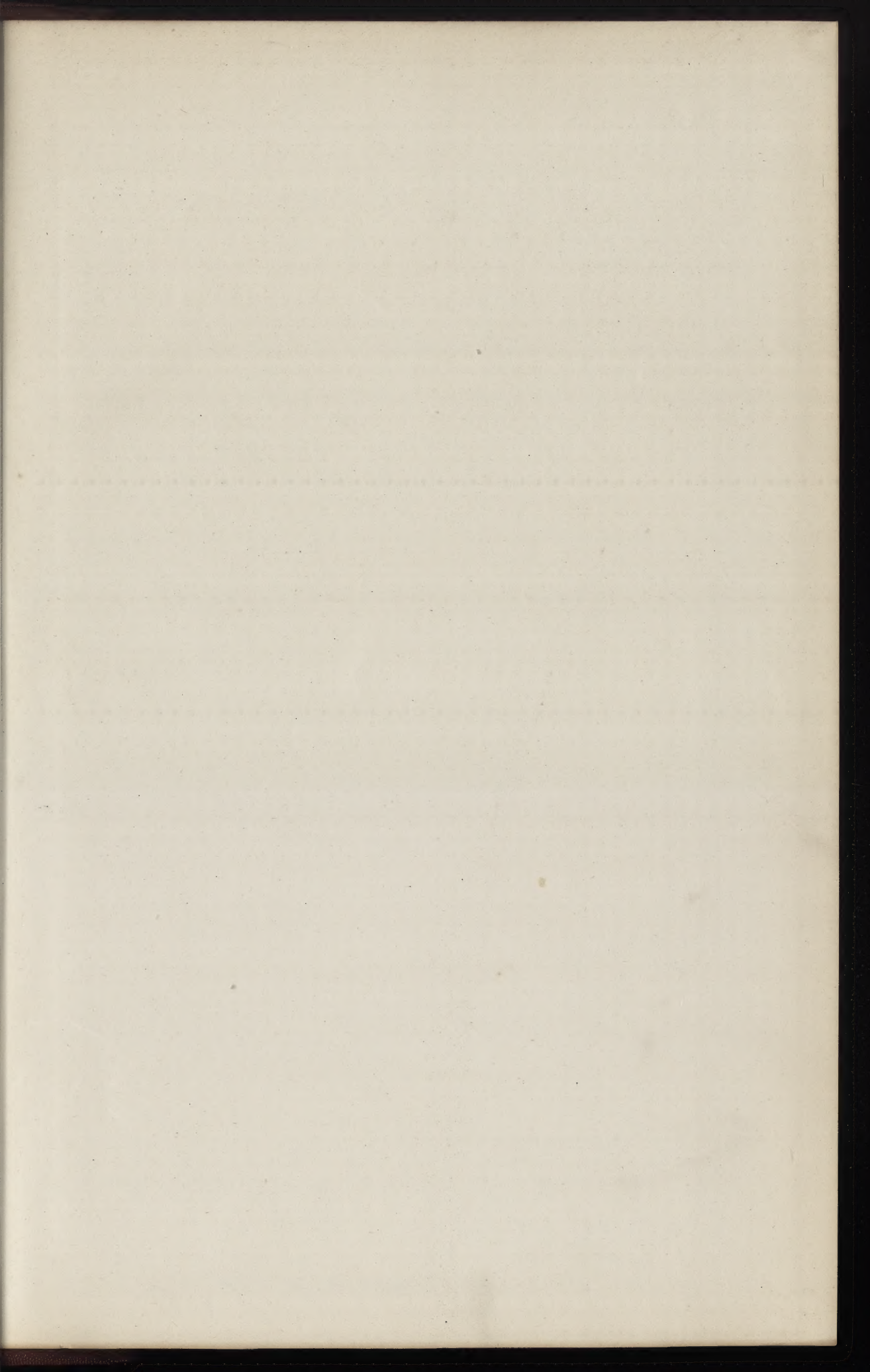
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